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【唐行】
【名】
天草島あたりから南方に出稼

AN ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE PROSTITUTION IN AUSTRALIA
1877-1916

By

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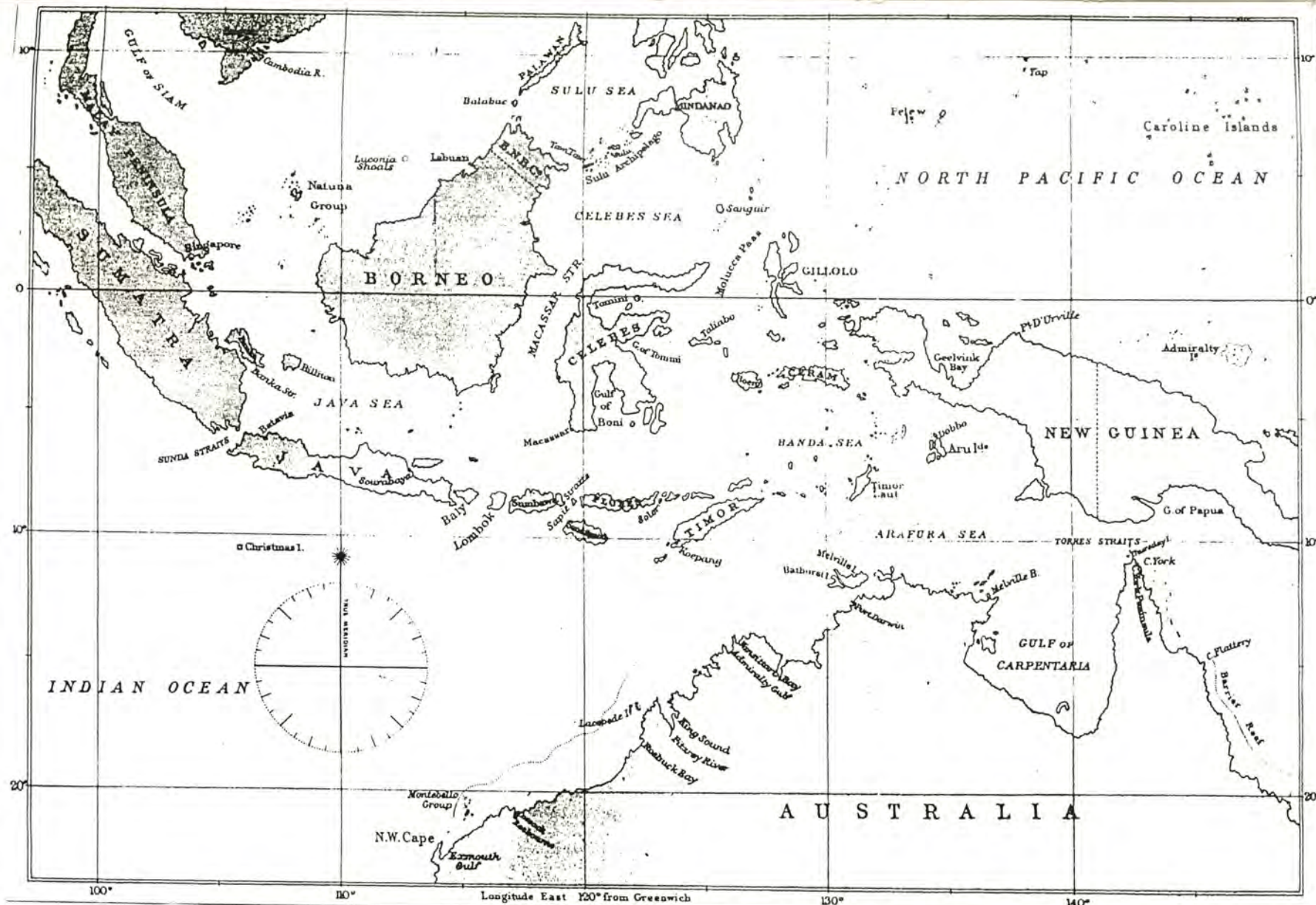


CHART OF THE PRINCIPAL PEARLING REGIONS.

100 200 300 400 500 600 1000

Scale in miles.

ABSTRACT

This project is an attempt to analyse the presence of Japanese prostitutes in Australia, with particular reference to Thursday Island in the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries within van den Berghe's typology of race-relations.

Japanese prostitutes (Kara-yuki-san) also, and not inappropriately, referred to as imbaifu, that is, secret prostitutes, mainly from Kumamoto and Nagasaki prefectures, were brought to Australia by Japanese and other International syndicates as well as smaller Chinese immigrant procurers who functioned either as individuals or as syndicates, for the purposes of prostitution, predominantly in the pearling industry - an industry which had rapidly become almost exclusively dependent on the labour of Japanese men.

The women who made the long and hazardous journey across the Pacific Ocean to Thursday Island's already flourishing plural society, were predominantly from working class backgrounds and poorly educated, if at all. They were sent out of Japan clandestinely. The means by which this process was achieved included travelling under false names, using the passports of deceased women who had sojourned to countries such as America and India for similar purposes; at times they passed for the wives or sisters of the men engaged in this traffic. More often than not, however, they were smuggled on board freight and passenger steamers, hidden in boxes

marked as freight, or in specially built secret compartments, which at times became death chambers as they caught on fire and burnt alive those hidden within it.

The fact is that in 1902, the pearlshelling industry in Broome and Thursday Island officially became the only exception to excluding indentured coloured labour. In the Commonwealth Archives the Register of Prosecutions, commenced under the Federal Immigration Restriction Act, for the years 1902-3 indicates that no Japanese woman was ever refused entry into Australia under section d.(f). That is, "any prostitute or person living off the prostitution of others". These two factors give some indication as to (a) the extent of dependency the industry had on Japanese labour, and (b) the lengths a basically racist system was prepared to go to fulfil its economic needs.

The presence of Japanese imbaifu and indentured labourers in North Queensland, in particular, due to their large numbers, and the role these played in race relations in the area, can be analysed by employing van den Berghe's typology of race relations. The latter closely parallels the well known distinction in social science between 'gemeinschaft' and 'gessellschaft' and is divided into two ideal types - 'paternalistic' and 'competitive' race relations. These concepts have been used to briefly examine Thursday Island's pluralistic social structure, economic inter-ethnic relations, Japanese ethnocentrism, as applied in particular to the "Yokohamas", or Japanese quarters, and Japanese-Aboriginal miscegenation.

It is argued that the introduction of Japanese women to Australian shores was a concerted effort by government officials and other interested groups to retain a cheap and effective labour force which could not be effectively replaced by the indigenous community.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

In May 1984, just after completing my Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of New England, Armidale, I was employed by Language House Inc., a Japanese company, to teach English to adults in Japan (Takamatgsu, Shikoku). During my stay there, by chance I came across Tomoko Yamazaki's work on the fate of Japanese prostitutes overseas. Yamazaki's Sandakan Hachiban Shokan (Brothel Number Eight at Sandakan) (1975), and the Story of Yamada Waka; From Prostitute to Feminist Pioneer (1978), stimulated me immensely and began to make me question the "remote" possibility of there having been Japanese brothels functioning in Australia around the turn of the century, particularly in areas such as Thursday Island and Broome - both of which had a substantial population of Japanese males working in the pearling industry at the time.

Later, a visit to the Amakusa Islands, the place from which most of the Japanese women working as prostitutes overseas come, and Canton, the closest port for their arrival, further instigated me to undertake some formal research on the topic and, in the process, begin to bring the puzzle of their experience as women, immigrants and as members of the working class back together.

During the time I have been involved in research for this project, I have encountered a variety of responses to it. Three, however, have predominated. To some it has appeared as an unnecessary and somehow "decadent" subject to research in that it does not deal with the "real" issues and circumstances being faced by Japanese

prostitutes working either in Japan or overseas* on a full or part-time basis. Others have viewed the study as politically inconsequential since it does not seek to bring about any structural changes to the conditions of work under which Japanese prostitutes currently function.

To some Anglo-Saxon-Celtic prostitutes with whom I had the opportunity to discuss my subject of research, it has seemed as far too removed from "mainstream" prostitution to be able to authentically provide both lessons and alternatives to the women - working class - prostitution = exploitation equation. When the racist dimensions of prostitution were raised, an Asian* prostitute I interviewed in Darlinghurst sarcastically said: "Prostitution is much simpler now, we have only heroin, crack, speed, the cops and AIDS to worry about".

To the rest it has seemed an ideal topic for research since "nothing much has been done on it". All these perspectives, however valid, fail to recognise that to examine the presence of the Imbaifu in Australia is to confront one of the most desperate attempts in the history of Australia by racist governments to retain a cheap labour force and an industry which would have collapsed without their labour - the Japanese pearldivers.

Unfortunately, research for this work has been limited by both time and space. To have done some research in the Diet Library in

*. While in Nepal during December 1988 I had the chance to speak to two Japanese women who had begun working as prostitutes in order to be able to buy their air fare back to Japan. The conditions under which they worked were appalling.

* For reasons of privacy exact details of references are not provided.

Japan; and to have been able to read more than just basic Japanese, to have visited Thursday Island, Broome and Kalgoorlie, as well as to have spoken to the descendants of the men and women this study examines, would have made the experience of researching for this work a much more rewarding one. The history and politics of Japanese prostitution in Australia, unlike that of the pearldivers, requires much more attention than this study is able to provide. However, the word limit placed on it only allows for the quantity of material I have presented.

Harriett Blankevoort,

January, 1990.

INTRODUCTION

"The Sink of the Pacific"

Theoretical Perspective

It is expected that some day the menial work of the universe will be done by Chinamen and Negroes, whilst the Caucasian race is to fill the high places on the earth and the other races are to be squeezed out of existence.

Queensland Figaro, 6 October, 1893.

Rikichi Oguchi, Moka Nojima, Yasuko Nakaniskti, Sato Outs, Toyokichi Ofuji, Kihichiro Ishiwarra¹, are a fragment of the substantial numbers of Japanese men and women, who, during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reached Australian shores hoping to find what the Chinese immigrants referred to as the "gold mountain". Amongst those who came, four major groups can be identified:² (i) the adventurers, (ii) the representatives of Japanese enterprises, both of which payed their own passages, (iii) the indentured labourers who were engaged in the Queensland Canefields (1842-1905) and in the highly controversial

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1. 'List of Persons to whom Certificates of Residence have been issued by this Consulate from 31st December 1900, up to the Present', V & P Q. Leg. Ass. 1901, Vol. 1, p. 1151.
 2. D.C. Sissons, 'The Japanese in Australia 1871-1946', Section 26, 45th ANZAAS Congress, Perth 1973.

pearling industry (from 1883)³ and (iv) the 'Karayuki-san'⁴ or imbaifu.⁵

Analysis of the presence of the latter category of this ethnic group during this period involves essentially the study of race-relations. The latter is characterised by two types of situation. On the one hand, is that which derives directly from the circumstances of colonial conquest and which involves the allocation of the most menial work role to those conquered; such as was the case for the Aboriginal population. And, on the other hand, is the case in which an ethnic group of immigrants which are either culturally or physically distinguishable from the mainstream population as, for instance, the Japanese, Melanesians, Indians, Kanakas and other minority groups, are given no alternative but to carry out tasks which in the society's own terms are regarded as morally questionable roles. The common denominator is that groups of different ethnic or national origin function under a single economic system, and are considerably limited in their access to legitimate political power. The Aborigines, the Chinese, Indian, Melanesian, Japanese and other Coolie indentured labourers as well as the

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3. There appears to be no evidence in Australia to support the assertion made by the Japanese Legation in London in 1900 that Japanese pearl-divers had been engaged in this industry at Thursday Island since as early as 1875. Refer to enclosure in Hayashi to Chief Secretary, Queensland, 30 July 1900, reproduced at p.19 of 'Admission of Japanese into Queensland - further correspondence relating to', Queensland Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1901, vol. 4, 1139.
 4. The ideographs which form this word (kara: China; Yuki: verb to go) translate literally as 'China going' and denote prostitution since China was the prostitutes' closest port of arrival as most came from the Island of Kyushu.
 5. Secret prostitute. This term refers to the condition under which some Japanese women left their country of origin.

Japanese Imbaifu, all fall under this definition. In colonial Queensland, this system, however, underwent a further process of sophistication and the groups did not continue to function under a 'single socio-economic system'⁶, but instead were eventually 'negated' and 'excluded'. Examples of this additional refinement can be found in (a) the concentration camps which went under the name of 'reserves', where Aborigines who were not considered as fulfilling any function in the White socio-economic structure were forced to socially and economically disintegrate and die;⁷ (b) the restriction of pearling leases from Asian labourers in 1886 in Shark Bay and (c) the refusal in the North in 1892 of all ship licences to alien applicants on the grounds that the activities, of both Chinese and Japanese owned boats, by 'unfair means' excluded white pioneers from the industry.⁸ Further examples can be found in the reputation and deportation measures which were taken against the 'superfluous' Chinese and Melanesian labourers.

John Rex argues that this particular system is "... justified by appeal to some kind of deterministic theory"⁹, a clear example of the latter is made mainly in the fact that when a particular group is subject to discrimination it is rationalised on the basis of an incapacity to carry out certain tasks or a special capacity to behave

6. J. Rex, 'The Concept of Race in Sociological theory', in S. Zubaida (ed.) 1970, Race and Racialism, London, Tavistock Publications, 1970.

7. C.D. Rowley, 1970, The Destruction of Aboriginal Society, Canberra, Australian National University Press.

8. Q.P.D., 20 Dec. 1896 for telegram from Premier W.A. to Premier Queensland, outlining anti-Asian regulations.

9. Rex, in Zubaida, op.cit., p. 49.

in specific ways which are genetically transmitted.¹⁰ It is thus that Aborigines, Melanesians, Chinese, Indians as well as Japanese, on the basis of the characteristics generally ascribed to them by Europeans, were regarded as capable of only performing a limited number of work roles.

However, the European's monopoly over the sources of wealth and political power did not go unchallenged. In a social structure where there were no commonly acceptable standards of behaviour for achieving certain goals, 'group organisation was the key to success in guarding or furthering ethnic economic interests'.¹¹ Of the plethora of ethnic groups present on Thursday Island, the two which were characterised by their organisational skills and social cohesion were the Europeans and the Japanese. The former controlled economic power and the latter joined forces to reach their position.

Japanese immigration to Australia during the period in question was overshadowed by immigration restrictions and discriminatory internal legislation. The basic assumption was that Japanese settlement should not be permitted. There were, however, some exceptions to this criterion.

In 1902 the pearlshelling industry in Broome, Darwin and Thursday Island achieved distinct status in the Commonwealth's affairs by officially being made the only exception to the

10. Ibid.

11. G. Evans, Thursday Island - A Plural Society (unpublished B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Queensland, 1970).

controversial policy of excluding indentured coloured labour.¹² And, in the Commonwealth Archives, the Register of Prosecutions, commenced under the Federal Immigration Restriction Act for the period 1902-03, indicates that no Japanese woman was ever denied entry into Australian soil under Section d(f); namely, 'any prostitute or person living on the prostitution of others'.

Figures provided for Thursday Island's ethnic composition indicate that as early as 1894 there were 14 Japanese females living on the island. There is no record as to their occupation but it is more than likely that they were working as prostitutes in the rapidly developing and highly organised 'Yokohama' district.¹³

By September 1916, a return on the Japanese prostitutes within the area, provided by The Consul General to the Foreign Ministry, indicated that Freemantle and Perth had a total of 12 Japanese prostitutes, Broome had 20, Rockhampton 3, Cairns 9, and New Britain 7, a total of 51.¹⁴

The official and clandestine exceptions to these two categories of Japanese immigrants from the 1901 Immigration Act, reveal an industrial relationship between white and coloured people during the post Federation events. And, more importantly, give a clear indication as to (a) the extent of dependency the pearlshelling industry had on Japanese indentured labourers, and (b) the sexist

12. A.T. Yarwood, 1964, Asian Migration to Australia, The Background to Exclusion, 1896-1923, 1, pp. 104-14.

13. D.C. Sissons, 'Kayayuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia 1887-1916', Part II, Historical Studies, 17, 1976-77.

14. G. Evans, op.cit.

dimensions of institutionalised racism and its role in serving the interests of the mainstream political and economic power structure. White opposition to the introduction of Japanese as well as other Asiatic indentured workers into Australia was varied and extensive. Economic opposition to their labour was expressed in terms which were fundamentally illogical and contradictory. They were opposed on the one hand, on the grounds of their servility; in 1897, for instance, the Kalgoorlie Miner warned its readers that Asiatics were a danger to the community 'by reason of the cheapness of their labour'.¹⁵ Despite the fact that in this ascribed work role they fulfilled indispensable tasks which white workers rejected with disdain. And, on the other hand, the few who escaped this condition and entered the competitive market - such as the Japanese who became owners of the pearling luggers and were able to function independently were perceived as an even greater economic threat.

An article published by the Bulletin in 1897 regarding the minutes of evidence of the Queensland Commission on the Mining and Pearlshelling Industries, concluded by admonishing the public that 'the day is at hand when the Japs will be so firmly settled in Australia that nothing but gunshot will shift them'.¹⁶ In September 1901 the Bulletin attacked the Hindoo for their readiness to accept even lower wages than the Melanesians and in November of that year criticised the "Jap" at Thursday Island for "learning to strike" against his low-wages and poor working conditions. In synthesis, coloured labour, whether free or unfree, was rejected on the basis of its racial nature.

15. The Kalgoorlie Miner, 'Vital Statistics', 7 July, 1897.

16. The Bulletin, 29 May, 1897.

Economic opposition to Japanese and other indentured labourers was not, however, made manifest as an isolated objection, but rather was often expressed in terms of an entire Corpus of Xenophobia as well as other social fears. Apart from viewing inter-racial relations as a means of infectious contamination, coloured labour was characteristically emotively portrayed as a form of disease - a "plague spot impossible to eradicate", a "sore" and "a gangrene in the body politic".¹⁷ The Kalgoorlie Miner in 1897 considered the presence of Asian labourers in this town as "a source of grave danger to the community" due to "their filthy habits".¹⁸ Non-economic foundations for arguments against coloured labour appear to have ruled over those purely economic in nature. Various schools of thought, amongst them Social Darwinism, Genisistism and polygenisistism were constantly utilized to explain patterns of "genetic inheritance" and the consequent behavioural as well as physical characteristics of these so-called "inferior" races. Thus, the Japanese, the Melanesians and the Chinese as well as the Aborigines on the basis of the characteristics generally ascribed to them by Anglo-Saxons, were permitted to perform exclusively menial and low paid work roles such as thrashing cane, or growing vegetables - or categorised residually, and hence regarded as unable to fulfil any role within the socio-economic structure. Both pearldiving and prostitution were better financial enterprises, and gave the Japanese involved in these, a greater degree of economic independence.

17. M. Williard, 1923, History of the White Australia Policy, Melbourne, M.U.P., pp. 102 and 200.

18. The Kalgoorlie Miner, op.cit.

Overriding social fears and economic objections to the presence of coloured labourers was the spectre of sexual relationships between the races, indicating a fearful increase of miscegenation, inter-marriage and "piebald" children. Miscegenation, a term which refers to the inter-breeding of races, especially between whites and blacks, was officially used in the Territory to refer to all white/black liaisons and implied an immoral act, a sin and overall, a crime against both one's race and sex. On the basis of these arguments northern plantations were vitriolically attacked not only as undesirable economic bodies in their present structure, but more importantly, as "disease spots" from which radiate piebald children.¹⁹ The greatest danger perceived was undoubtedly "piebalism" and in July, the Bulletin put the situation in clear perspective by giving two examples"

A sugar planter has a half-caste illegitimate son, whose mother is an Aboriginal gin. This young man recently married his half caste cousin whose mother is a Kanaka woman who is "kept" indiscriminately by Chows and other aliens. Another case is: an Aboriginal European half caste girl had a child by her white uncle and lives with her white relations as one of the family ... now what sort of citizens will the property of these speathens be?

The supposed threat to the health and economy of the white community was associated with prevalent moral and sexual objections to racial minorities. In 1901 the Bulletin again put it succinctly:

The objection to coloured immigrants is racial and economic, an objection founded on the fact that we cannot eat with them, marry with them, work with them, without the certainty of national deterioration and degradation ... in the mind of every healthy Australian Providence or something has planted an ineradicable repugnance to associating with these racial

19. The Bulletin, 17 Aug., 1901.

inferiors, a conscience which warns against inter-marrying with them.²⁰

The objection to social relationships with "Asiatic, African or Kanaka tribe", as seen by the Bulletin, was based upon the simple racist premise that "Australia doesn't want to be mongrel":

It objects to ... [these races] because they introduce a lower civilisation. It objects because they inter-marry with white women and thereby lower the white type and because they have already created the beginnings of a mongrel race ...²¹

It was basically this sexual repugnance which overshadowed any other consideration be it social or economic. Questions such as: Who is there, however great may be his admiration of Jap energy, courage and progress, that would pleasurably regard the prospect of the most enlightened Jap forming a matrimonial alliance with one of his own family?²² exemplify this attitude.

The Bulletin, one of the most effective, however, racist journals in the country, was forged in a wave of nationalism and ethnocentrism. 1901 - the year which witnessed nationhood being nominally proclaimed, and the White Australia Policy being officially implemented - gave the journal its strongest ideological pillars. A.T. Yarwood put the journal's influence on its public into perspective when he noted that 'on the mind of the Australian Anglo-Saxon with

20. The Bulletin, 25 May, 1901.

21. Ibid.

22. The Bulletin, 28 Sept. 1901, 'The Jap on the Horizon'.

his special aversion to miscegenation and his race consciousness', the impact of the Bulletin's propaganda was immense.²³

Close analysis of the social content of the journal exemplifies Yarwood's comment. During 1890, for instance, The Bulletin published a total of fifty racially oriented cartoons, a breakdown of which indicates that fourteen were significantly anti-Semitic and ten vitriolically attacked Aborigines. The rest evoked the threat to White Australia from Indians, Kanakas, Chinese, Japanese, or referred denigratingly toward unspecified coloured peoples.²⁴

It is evident that the publication of such reports had as a major objective to instigate in the already Xenophobic white community feelings of mistrust and general antagonism. It did, however, far more than this; it instilled in the white labourer delusions of persecution when it came to competition for a place in the mainstream economy; and created in the public mind the concept of being invaded and dominated by coloured 'aliens'. The Bulletin, for instance, managed to do this by publishing figures to demonstrate that although, in the last six years, 10,637 coloured aliens had left Queensland, 14,585 had arrived - a surfeit of 3,948 remaining.²⁵

Thursday Island, in particular, was utilised to exemplify a dangerous imbalance of Europeans and others. It was described

23. A.T. Yarwood, op.cit., p. 34.

24. R. Evans, K. Saunders, K. Cronin (4ds.), 1975, Exclusion, Exploration and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland.

25. The Bulletin, 'The Inflowing Nigger', 21 September 1901.

firstly as a 'Japanese community' and later as a piebald human camp'²⁶ In November of 1901 the Bulletin published some figures to indicate that the mixed aggregate of Japanese, Chinese, Aborigines, Filipinos, Kakakas, Malays, Cingalese, New Guineans, Indians, and 'other mixed races' out-numbered whites by nearly two to one.

In fact, the situation was very different. In 1898 a Census upon coloured aliens undertaken by the Queensland police revealed, for example, that Cloncurry had only a total of six Chinese males and seven Chinese females, two Japanese males the three females and one other (male) Asiatic.

The presence of Japanese prostitutes and indentured labourers in North Queensland and their role in race relations in the area can be analysed by employing van den Berghe's typology of race relations.²⁷ The latter closely parallels the well known distinction in social science between *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* and is divided into two 'ideal types' - 'paternalistic' and 'competitive' race relations. In a paternalistic system race relations follow the master-servant model. The dominant group, often a small minority of less than ten per cent of the total population, supports its role of an ideology of benevolent despotism, and views the subordinate groups as childish, immature, irresponsible and above all, inferior. The subordinate group, in turn, accommodates to its ascribed inferior status and often undergoes a process of internalisation of feelings of inferiority, these are manifested, for instance, through lack of self-esteem.

26. Ibid., 'A Picture of Thursday Island', 17 August, 1901.

27. Pierre L. Van den Berghe, 1967, Race and Racism. A Comparative Perspective.

In a paternalistic system roles and statuses are sharply defined within racial lines with a strictly ascriptive division of labour and a great asymmetry and complementarity in social relationships. It is interesting to note that racial prejudice by the dominant group appears to be directly related to economic and social position than to any psychodynamically based factors. This brand of prejudice is expressed in a system of 'pseudotolerance' where professions of love exist for the subordinate group as long as the fundamental areas of inequality are not challenged. It is usually in quite complex but pre-industrial societies in which agriculture and handicraft production form the basis of the economy. Miscegenation in this brand of system is not only frequent but accepted by the dominant group as a legitimate prerogative.

The "purest" case of paternalistic relations can be found in large scale production of a cash-crop on slave plantations, as shown, for instance, by the pre-abolition regimes in north-eastern Brazil, the Southern United States and others. Many of the characteristics of this system are also exhibited in land-based serfdom as was the *encomienda* system in Spanish America.²⁸ Mobility in the colour line is not allowed except within castes. This system is so strict that even emancipation in slavery systems seldom improved the lot of those who were freed.²⁹

28. See for example, Evaristo de Moraes, *A Escravidao Africana no Brazil*, Sao Paulo, 1933, and A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, *The Mark of Oppression*, 1951.

29. Alfonso, Caso, et al., *Methods y Resultados de la Politica Indigenista en Mexico*, Mexico: Memorias del instituto Nacional Indigenista, 6, 1954.

The competitive type of race relations found in North Queensland, is characteristic of industrialised and urbanised societies with a complex division of labour and a manufacturing basis of production. A colour bar is present and racial membership remains ascribed, but class differences become more salient relative to caste. In a complex industrial economy that necessitates high skill levels the labour force has to be relatively free and mobile, and race does not play a major role in the criterion for job selection. In the competitive model of race relations the mechanisms of subservience and social distance present in the 'paternalistic' brand of race relations are replaced by acute competition between the subordinate caste and the working class within the dominant group. This phenomenon found expression in North Queensland in the concerted efforts by working class Anglo-Saxon pearl divers to exclude Japanese labour from the pearl shelling industry.³⁰

As social distance decreases, physical segregation is employed by the dominant group as a secondary defence mechanism for the preservation of the dominant group's status. The level of contact between castes diminishes as a result of the society's increasing compartmentalisation into racially homogenous ghettos which generally possess an almost self-sufficient institutionalised structure. A regular correspondent, 'Trotter', addressed this particular aspect of race relations in North Queensland when it reported that "... there is a Chow quarter, a Jap quarter, and a Dago and Syrian quarter" and, as it was the standard fashion in racially based reports, it went on to embody many of the racial objections generally held by White Queenslanders in 1901 by saying that these quarters

30. Op.cit.

were 'redolent of macaroni hovels, tomato stew, opium and the omnipresent banana'.³¹ Miscegenation in a competitive system of race relations declines in frequency and becomes more clandestine and stigmatised in both dominant and subordinate groups. In North Queensland men guilty of this crime against society were given the name of 'combo' and referred to as 'gin Jockey' if they "indiscreetly" associated with Aborigine women and treated with particular scorn if the attachment was emotional in nature. This attitude applied in particular to relationships which involved a white woman and a coloured man. A burnt cork was usually given to the man who had fathered a child by a black woman as a symbol of his 'blackened' character. Xavier Herbert's Capricornia points clearly to the sexual and racial paranoia of North Queensland's dominant group.

... she learnt to her horror that the men of Capricornia said that once a man went combo he could never again look with pleasure on a white woman unless he blackened her face.³²

In the competitive typology of race relations the dominant group's image of the subordinate group varies from one of backward but grown up children to one of aggressive, insolent, dishonest competitors for limited resources and challengers of the established cultural and socio-economic system. Paternalistic benevolence becomes virulent hatred and as this occurs the oppressed group or groups find expression in political consciousness. Race riots are an example of the conflict which evolves from this type of social structure.

31. 'Trotter', report, 16 March, 1901.

32. Xavier Herbert, 1938, Capricornia, p. 36.

On the basis of this, it must be pointed out that the plural society provides the structural base for genocide. The presence of a diversity of racial, ethnic and/or religious groups being the structural characteristic of the plural society and genocide a crime committed against these groups. It should not be assumed, however, that genocide is inevitable in the history of plural societies, but only that this type of society provides the required conditions for domestic genocide. The barrage of genocidal conflicts in plural societies (as for example India on partition, or in Bangladesh) indicate that there is a very close relationship between the plural society and genocidal practices.³³ Colonisation has been a major instigator of plural societies and, as the history of Australia and the Americas show, colonial and settler societies conformed to the extreme brand of plural structures. In Australia as in South America and the West Indies for instance, substantial numbers of indigenous peoples were wiped out, sometimes as a consequence of wars and massacres³⁴, or of disease and ecological change; more often than not, however, by deliberate policies of extermination.

Overall, as this paper hopes to point out, reprisal raids and race riots such as those which took place in Cairns (1876); Cape River (1869), Cloncurry (1881), Crocodile Creek (1867), Normanton (1888), Lambing Flat (1861) just name a few, are only the most pronounced examples of the marked antipathy and violence which

33. Leo Kuper, 1981, Genocide, its Political Use in the Twentieth Century.

34. In Australia, examples of this are found in the fact that squatters assumed the role of pitiless vigilantes when it came to damaged or stolen property. For instance refer to N.J.B. Phomley (ed.), Friendly Mission: The Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson 1829-1834.

characterised race relations in the colony. The most subtle of racial violence are expressed in the police reluctance to intercept the illegal traffic of Japanese women into the colony because, as the Commissioner of Police, W.E. Perry Okeden argued: "The supply of Japanese women for the Kanaka demand is less revolting and degrading than would be the case were it met by white women"³⁵, and the unchecked spread of venereal disease among Aborigines and in the institutionalised permission of force implicit in the reserve system, the plantation structure and in official discrimination against Chinese, Kanaka, Malay, Indian, Japanese and other coloured indentured labourers. The experiences of Japanese imbaifu and Japanese pearldivers should be understood within this context.

Van den Berghe's model of race relations provides an effective theoretical framework within which the presence of ethnic communities in a plural society, such as Thursday Island, and the inter-ethnic relations which these developed may be more wholistically and critically examined. The model not only serves to study socio-economic structures but, also and, perhaps more importantly, the ways in which those within the structures associate and relate to, as well as influence one another. It is hoped that this approach puts into a more clear perspective the Japanese prostitutes experiences.

35. Police Commissioner's Report, Feb., 1899, Queensland State Archives (Q.S.A.).

Thursday Island's Ethnic Composition

Specimens of nearly all the European and Asiatic nationalities are in evidence. Africa sends her woolly-headed sons from Xanzibar and the Soudan. The "black brother" of the United States answers for North America, while South America has spatting [sic] its wanderers in Brazilians, Paraguayans and Chilians. Creoles from the Mauritius mingle with the sea-spumed Maltese of the Mediterranean and Arabs swap lies of the desert with "boys" from the Coralline atolls of the Pacific.³⁶

According to C.M. Young's A Year in the Barrier Reef. The story of Corals and of the Greatest of their Creations, published in 1930, it was the numerous wrecks and attacks made on the survivors by the indigenous population from the mainland and the islands, rather than the discovery of pearl fishery which instigated the first settlement on the island. In 1862, Mr. John Jardine, Police Magistrate of Rockhampton was appointed Government Resident in the Torres Strait and he established a small settlement on Albany Island which, a year later, was transferred to Somerset on the mainland opposite. Somerset was not a port of particular importance and, for the rapidly developing pearling industry, its distance from the actual fisheries presented a major drawback. In 1875 the settlement was moved from Somerset to Thursday Island. When the Queensland Coast Island's Act was passed three years later, the whole of the Torres Strait Islands - hitherto nominally independent - were annexed to the State of Queensland.

36. Report of the Departmental Commission on the Pearl shell and Beche-de-Mer Fisheries, Qld. V & P, 1, 1897, vol. II, p. 1302.

The dominant factors which produced and forged Thursday Island's plural society, however, were purely economic in nature. In fact as Evans has argued, without the incentive of capitalism Thursday Island would have never gone beyond the phase of being merely a strategic base for the Queensland government.³⁷

Thursday Island managed to reach such an extraordinary racial diversity that it soon came to be commonly known as the 'sink of the Pacific'. The various nationalities present on Thursday Island were directly or indirectly involved in some aspect of the fisheries. Europeans held a monopoly over the managerial and administrative positions such as bank managers, government and church officials, pearl and pearl shell dealers and managers of fishing stations. Others were also hotel-keepers and storekeepers. Those "in charge" were mainly white men, a situation which persisted for many years. There were even a number of Europeans on articles.³⁸ Similarly the various groups identified as "blacks" - that is "everyone not absolutely white" - were not characterised by factors of occupational specialisation. Thus, Japanese and Indians performed the work of boat builders at one stage, while other Asian nationals were involved in running boarding houses or working as servants. The Chinese operated market gardens and other stores, and the Malays controlled the illicit and highly popular Che fa dens³⁹ - opium smoking dens which generally functioned at the back of general stores. In synthesis, indentures and other coloured workers engaged in

37. G. Evans, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

38. C.M. Young, 1930, A Year on the Barrier Reef. The Story of Corals and of the Greatest of their Creations, London, p. 163.

39. J. Douglas to Colonial Secretary, 5 June, 1896, Col. 140/10750.

occupations which a primarily racist system - one whose basic motivation was the maximisation of profits - allowed them to perform.

A similar hierarchical structure was found among the indigenous population. The supposed superiority of islanders over Papuans and Aborigines being reflected in the hard cash of wage differentials. In general terms the hierarchy approximated that of contemporary scientific racism, with North Europeans at the top of the hierarchical ladder, black skinned peoples at the bottom and the rest distributed according to their position along the colour spectrum. Occupational stratification along racial lines does not appear to have occurred on the board. On the contrary, they provided the representatives of every ethnic group on Thursday Island, with the exception of Torres Strait Islanders and mainland Aborigines, employment in the fisheries as divers, men in charge and boat crews indiscriminately. Islanders were never engaged as divers on the apparatus boats and Aborigines were assigned to the positions of swimming as divers and boat crews exclusively. In the early 1900's an anonymous islander analysed the situation thus:

England number one.
Japanese number two.
Malayo, Manila bloody fool
South sea all same.⁴⁰

The situation was, however, much more complex. Historically, it must be understood as the product of the marine industry on the

40. Lecture on Inter-ethnic Relations (Sociology Dept.) attended at the University of New England, Armidale, in 1983.

one hand and government policy on the other. The situation can be summarised in terms of two simple discriminations. Europeans, mostly Anglo-Australians, occupied the commanding heights of industry, commerce, government, religion and the military. Non-Europeans were subordinate and bound in service to them by one means or another. (The Japanese divers would undoubtedly have penetrated the upper stratum by taking control of the marine industry, had they not been prevented by special legislation.)⁴¹ The non-European population was again divided between foreign and indigenous people, each group being subject to separate regulations and economic practices.

The general attitude to the island's coloured peoples was not any different to those held by whites around the colony toward non-Caucasians.

In mid-June 1888 during a festival among the Malay Community in Normanton, a Malay murdered three white men. This atrocity provided the necessary 'scapegoat' for a full-scale race riot by the Europeans. As the Hon. A. H. Palmer later explained to the Queensland Legislative Assembly, "The outrage ... only led to what had been culminating for a long time".⁴² The whites of Normanton, exhibiting signs of both "great excitement" and "panic", met at the School of Arts on the 16th June and in a fiery meeting, during which all Chinese and other coloured men present "were seized and dragged out and thrown in the street". Lynchings were advocated

41. Bach, J., 1961, 'The Political Economy of Pearl-shelling, Economic History Review, 14. 1: 105-14.

42. Queensland Parliamentary Debates, Vol. LV, 1888, p. 297.

and the government called upon to remove every alien from the colony. That evening coloured servants were dismissed by their white employers and 200 whites gathered on the Normanton wharf. Armed with firesticks they proceeded to the alien quarter and began to set fire to it⁴³ while the coloured inhabitants fled. Eighteen houses were burnt to the ground. The rioting continued the following day with special constables being sworn in to aid the regular police but to no avail. As the then Colonial Secretary, B.D. Morehead described the incident:

The white people of Normanton became panic stricken and rose almost en masse against the coloured people there; the police found that the only way in which they could protect the coloured people was to put them on board the hulk in the river. The number of police was not sufficient to deal with the almost near revolution which took place at Normanton.

Apart from substantial numbers of Malays sequestered in the hulk, a variety of other coloured men were placed on board. Even an American Negro who had just arrived on a steamer was seized. The white settlers demanded that the entire population of coloured people be forcibly deported and the detainees were finally offered the choice of facing the hostile mob or being sent to Thursday Island. They wisely chose the latter alternative. In Parliament, A. H. Palmer stated boldly that he wished:

... to vindicate the name and fair fame of Normanton in this affair. The people there were driven to great straits and I believe they acted in a self-contained and moderate manner, considering the circumstances in which they were placed. The material for the breaking out had existed there for months and perhaps years past, as a very large number of those alien and very objectionable races were congregated there and were a sore in the midst of the people ... I do not know either if it was a very illegal act to deport those men ... I do not think there is a town in Australia where the people would suffer

43. Queenslander, 28 June, 1888.

quietly what the Normanton people suffered. So that there is very little, if any, blame attached to them for taking the law into their own hands.

In response to Palmer's justification of Lynch Law in the cause of white domination, however, the Premier, Sir Thomas MacIlwraith said,

The people of Normanton were never in the slightest danger from the coloured men who were expelled ... There never was the slightest ... [chance] that the white people there would not be able to protect themselves against the blacks.

Yet MacIlwraith recognised another danger which he also interpreted in terms of the interests of Queensland's white population. This danger was "that by some act on the part of the people of Normanton, the fair fame of the colony might be tarnished".

In July 1888 the expelled party of eighty-four coloured men "chiefly Malays, but including Spanish, French and American coloured subjects"⁴⁴ arrived at Thursday Island by steamer and the police, anticipating trouble from these disgruntled passengers were again called on. The reception the new arrivals obtained from the small number of white residents was once again hostile. This was due to the fact that the existing numbers and variety of coloured races, chiefly indentured coloured labourers were regarded as 'already too troublesome, being largely in excess of the European residents'.⁴⁵

44. Q.P.D., op.cit., pp. 296-7.

45. Queenslander, 17 July 1888, and 10 October 1888: This latter reference indicated that a certain Louis Mendis, a leading Cingalese resident of Colombo was taking up the cause of the Normanton "exiles" through the Ceylon Government.

The responses demonstrated above to non-Caucasian races, both indigenous and foreign, by the white people of Normanton and Thursday Island are eloquent examples in microcosm of a general colonial attitude to coloured peoples which was prevalent at this time.⁴⁶

46. The years 1887 to 1889 marked the peak of virulent anti-Chinese agitation in Queensland with rioting in centres as far apart as Brisbane, Clermont and Croydon. At this same time colonial Liberals had been successful in ensuring the expulsion of Melanesian labourers from the colony - a deportation which was to take effect from 1 January 1891.

PART ONE

'Brown Dots of Society'

The Shimabara Revolts

There were times when I had nothing but water to drink in the morning; Noon would come, then the sun would set and night fall - and I still hadn't even had the neck of a sweet potato to eat.¹

The physical transition of an individual from one society to another is instigated by "feelings of frustration and inadequacy - whatever their cause".² Demographic analysis of the Amakusa Islands has shown that in the case of the Japanese women who ventured abroad these appear to have been economic in nature. The origins of Japanese emmigration can be traced back to Japan's renowned Three Exclusion Decrees. The issue of these orders in the early 1600s brought Japan's thriving and promising phase of expansion to an abrupt conclusion by closing the country to foreign trade and travel with only a few strictly limited exceptions. Close

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1. Interviews with women who, now in their nineties, had been prostitutes as young girls, conducted by Tomoko Yamazaki in Sandakan No. 8 Brothel, Bulletin of Concerned Scholars, No.; 7, Oct-Dec 1975.
 2. S.N. Einsenstadt, 'The Absorption of Immigrants' in Gordon Bowker and John Carrier, Race and Ethnic Relations, Sociological Readings (1976), p. 41.

examination of the contents of these documents clearly indicate the gradual development of a policy of almost complete isolation. The latter, is an historical phenomenon which, while simple superficially, is highly complex and provides the framework within which a number of significant economic factors developed. Of particular importance to this study is the fact that these orders contributed to the exodus of substantial numbers of men and, particularly women, from Japan.

Addressed in the form of a memorandum to the two Governors of Nagasaki by the Koju Sakai Takamatsu³ and three other high officers of the Bakufu, the 1633 orders' main provisions went as follows:

- (i) It is strictly forbidden for any vessel without a valid licence to leave Japan for a foreign country.
- (ii) No Japanese subject may leave for a foreign country in any vessel without a valid licence.
- (iii) Japanese subjects who have resided abroad shall be put to death if they return to Japan. Exception is made for those who have resided abroad for less than five years and have been unavoidably detained. They shall be exempt from punishment but if they attempt to go abroad again they are to be put to death.⁴

3. Takamatsu is situated on the island of Shikoku and literally translated means high (taka) pines (matsu).

4. Lecture attended in 1984 on Japanese Foreign Policy (Shikoku, Takamatsu Shi, Kawaga-Ken, Japan).

The articles which followed⁵ deal principally with the search for Christian converts and for missionaries who were either already in hiding in Japan or being smuggled in at various Japanese ports.

The total exclusion policy's third and final measure, taken in 1639, appears to have been caused by a rising in Kyushu in 1637-38, known as the Shimabara Revolt, in which an army of peasants from the island of Amakusa and the neighbouring Shimabara Peninsula held out for a number of weeks against a powerful force mobilised by western barons at the order of the Yedo Government. The slaughter was barbaric, led by soldiers who had fought under Christian generals in the Civil Wars; the insurgents were mainly poor country people who had been joined by a number of disaffected Samurai.⁶

The revolt was primarily a manifestation against the oppressive role of feudal lords in an isolated and backward region - not a religious uprising. However, there is no doubt that a substantial number of the insurgents were inspired to take part in the fighting by their leader's Christian faith. In fact, their banners were inscribed with the names of Saints and with such legends as "Praise to the Blessed Sacrament". Whatever the cause, this rebellion brought an end to overt Christian worship in Japan. Tracking down believers and hunting out missionaries became the authorities main objective.

5. There were seventeen articles in total.

6. Lecture attended at Tamakatsu, op.cit.

Japan's equivalent of Europe's "Witchraze" had, by 1625, reached its apogee, Christianity had been either eradicated or driven underground in most parts of Japan, though sporadic revivals of martyrdoms continued to occur for two more decades. In certain places peasants, encouraged by missionaries in hiding, maintained their Christian faith by worshipping secretly.

Shuman Arimate, the examination of sects - a kind of Inquisition - was established in Yedo in 1640. By 1664, all daimyos of 10,000 Koku and above were instructed to establish a similar office. The methods by which the board of inquiry identified practicing Christians were, with time, as cruel as those employed by the infamous Spanish Inquisition. The test of trampling on the cross (fumie) was introduced. The reasons for this practice can be found in the district's attempts to eradicate Christianity which had been introduced in the 16th century. In order to abolish the practice of this faith, the entire population was required annually to trample on a Christian effigy.

A register of persons resident in their parish was kept. This one had particulars of birth, death, marital status, as well as occupation. More importantly, it included a list of those who, due to absence, had not been tested. In the pursuit of Christians, the Buddhist clergy were called upon to act as police agents for the Bakufu.

The records kept by the missionaries of the time, as well as the documents of the Shogunate itself, give clear indications as to the brutality of the suppression of the Christian community which

undoubtedly was a massacre of peasants merely masked as a religious purge. The result of this 'inquisition' was that the population of Amakusa declined by half. The following year, in an effort to increase its population and in turn its production, the Shogunate began to implement a policy of resettlement in Amakusa.⁷ Thus, numbers of people were forcefully allotted to the Imperial and various other domains of Kyushu, a practice which went on for approximately fifty years.

This resettlement policy had devastating affects on Amakusa since an increase in population did not automatically lead to an increase in productivity, but rather to further poverty. Concurrently, the Tokugawa Period was coming to an end and the great social reforms known as the Meiji Restoration were, apart from abolishing the prohibition against Christianity, allowing free movement to and from the island. The basic structure of a very exploitative system, however, did not change and the peasant was faced with the only avenue open to him/her - emmigration. For many Amakusa women the immigration process had further implications - prostitution.

From the accurate population and taxation records which have been kept, K. Mori has been able to establish that between 1691 and 1886 the Amakusa Islands population trebled, while production increased by a factor of only 1.08.⁸ In comparing the register for the village of Takahama for the years 1829, 1849 and 1859 with the

7. T. Yamazaki, Hachiban Shokan ('Sandakan No. 8 Brothel'), Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, No. 7, Oct.-Dec., 1975.

8. K. Mori, Jinshin Baibi: Kaigai Dekasegi Onng, Lasa, p. 177.

taxation records, Mori aptly demonstrates that it was the households with either a small output or a large family who were dependent on one or more members of the family working away from home to keep the family solvent. Of particular significance to this study is the fact that from similar records Mori is able to show that by 1862 it was the women who were being sent away.

The Shimabara region continued to be economically dependent on emmigration until the second world war. By 1941 approximately one-sixth of the population was recorded as being abroad. Amongst its emmigrants females continued to be over-represented. The capital Amakusa women working overseas managed to send home did more than just help keep their families solvent. In fact, prior to World War II, the Osaka Maimichi Shimbun calculated that approximately Y 200,000 were being sent home on an annual basis by Amakusa women working abroad. This figure, according to K. Mori made a substantial contribution to the import surplus of the region.⁹ The Fukuoka Daily News of 9 September 1926, in an article on Japanese prostitutes overseas entitled 'A Land of Women', claimed that "These women ... who journeyed overseas from the four villages under the jurisdiction of the Kohama Government seat (Shimabara) sent more than 12,000 Yen home last year. The total for the 30 villages and towns which comprise the Shimabara Peninsula easily broke the Y 30,000 mark in the last year alone." According to a History of Japanese Expansion Overseas by Irie Torajiri, in 1900, the Japanese overseas in Siberia, mainly Vladivostock, sent back to Japan the sum of approximately one million yen; of this, a substantial Y 630,000 derived from the prostitutes.

9. Ibid., p. 212.

The Fukuoka Daily News of September 9, 1926, in an article on Japanese prostitutes overseas was advising its readers that the women who had journeyed overseas from the four villages under the jurisdiction of the Kohama Government seat [Shimabara] had sent more than 12,000 Yen home the previous year and that in the period of one year alone the total for the 30 villages and towns which comprised the Shimabara Peninsula had gone beyond 300,000 Yen.

Despite the incredible sums of money which involved the prostitutes enterprise, the Karayuki-san as well as other prostitutes rarely managed to keep even a small fraction of the large profits. This reality is exemplified by Muraokas's following account.

The women write letters home and send money every month. Their parents are reassured and gain certain repute in the neighbourhood. Then the village headman hears of it and imposes an income tax. It is hard to tell just how much good the country gets out of this.¹⁰ (*italics added*).

Mori Katsumi's extensive work in the Amakusa region, from where most of the prostitutes for South-east Asia came, clearly indicates that prostitution played a significant role in the development of Japanese wealth in Malaya. The fact that these Chinese capitalists would never access money to Japanese for any purposes other than to invest in prostitution¹¹; for instance, opening a brothel, organising for girls to be procured and so on, indicates the highly profitable returns this enterprise was able to produce.

10. T. Yamazaki, 'Sandakan No. 8, Brothel', 1972, p. 58.

11. Ibid., p. 166.

Further evidence of the economic impact Japanese prostitutes had on their home towns and the communities within which they worked, comes from Irie Torajiri's work entitled Hajin Kaigai Hatenshi published in 1942. Torajiri claims that when the Consul General in Singapore finally closed the brothels in 1920, the withdrawal of the capital with which these brothels had backed various other Japanese enterprises had both immediate and devastating repercussions throughout the Japanese community.

This situation is eloquently expressed in the case of a doctor from Fukuoka Prefecture who, in the Netherlands East Indies was able to acquire coconut and rubber plantations with money he borrowed from the local brothels.¹²

Some observers argued that the Japanese prostitutes' impact on their home towns went beyond economics. In 1896 the Japan Weekly Mail maintained that, in the wave of Japanese immigration to South East Asia and beyond, the prostitutes had played the role of pioneers preparing the way for Japanese traders. Hence, when a group of five or six women settled in a port, the Japanese merchants soon followed with the products to cater for their various needs. The paper went on to say that following the arrival of the merchants came the labourers. One of the most detailed and best documented sources of Japanese prostitution overseas, Myaoka Kenji's Shofu: Kaigai Ryuroki, supports the Japan Weekly Mail's claims. Myaoka¹³

12. Ibid., p. 210.

13. K. Myaoka, Shofu Kaigai Ryuroki, Tokyo., 1968, p. 105. The Australian National Library holds a copy of the catalogue of a collection of approximately 3,600 texts written by Japanese

indicates that when the first Japanese shop in Shanghai, the Tashiro-Ya, began business in 1868, part of its stock was Japanese cosmetics. The prostitutes had, he claimed, already made their way to this location. The procurer Muraoka Ihegi, in seeking to rationalise his work, further corroborates this aspect of the Japanese prostitutes sojourn by stating that:

Put a whorehouse anywhere in the wilds of the South Pacific and pretty soon you've got a general store there to go with it. Then clerks come from Japan. They grow independent, and go into business for themselves. A company will open up a branch office. Even the master of the whorehouse will open up a business because he gets tired of being known as a pimp. Inside of a year or so land developers are on the increase. Meanwhile Japanese ships begin to call. Before long the place is thriving.¹⁴

In 1893, in a response to the substantial numbers of Japanese men and women who were leaving Japan as well as to the country's economic needs, the Japanese Diet granted Y 10,000 to cater for the cost of the survey of overseas territories which were likely to be suitable for Japanese immigration. Of this amount, Y 2,000 was allocated to K. Watanabe to visit and submit a report on Australia as well as some islands in the Pacific.¹⁵ The report offers the historian one of the most reliable sources regarding the trafficking of Japanese women (a practice which, in Watanabe's time, was in its apogee), as well as a description of the means by which these were procured and a detailed assessment of the prostitutes' operations in

immigrants since 1860, which Myaoka managed to amass while employed by the Osaka Shosen Shipping Company. The books dealt basically with accounts of their overseas travel or residence.

14. T. Yamazaki, op.cit., p.58.
15. D.C. Sissons, 'Karakuyki-San: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887-1916', Historical Studies, 17, 1976-77, Parts I and II.

Darwin. Watanabe's report also contains some interesting statistical information concerning the trade. There were, he wrote, twelve Japanese prostitutes distributed amongst three major brothels, each containing 3 to 4 women. These had arrived in Darwin specifically to work as prostitutes after having plied their trade in either Hong Kong or Singapore. They were all originally from Kyushu - Japan's southernmost island; the majority from Nagasaki prefecture. Their ages ranged mainly from 24 to 30 years old, although some were only in their early teens.¹⁶

The process of trafficking women involved primarily the role of four major characters: the procurer, whose function it was to find families of poor means and offer the victim Y 20-30; the captains of foreign ships who organised the smuggling of the women to Hong Kong or Canton for which they obtained Y 50-60 per capita; the receiving pimp at whose brothel the women would be accommodated and the victim. The latter would be transferred to a fishing boat as soon as they were beyond the radius of surveillance by the Water Police. At Hong Kong the women would be sold for as much as Y 300 per capita. The traffickers would then return to Japan and repeat the whole process.¹⁷ What Watanabe's report does not mention is the fact that brothels in Japan played an important part in the trafficking process. Employment offices for prostitutes and Geisha functioned as centres from which girls were distributed whenever there was the greatest demand for them both in Japan and abroad. Loans of money, promises of an easy living and great gains

16. Ibid.

17. K. Watanabe, Goshu tanken Hokokusho (Gainusho Tsushokyky, 1894) p. 281. (A copy of this text is held by the Australian National University, menzies Library, Ref. No. OS 39 50/3354.)

were usual incentives employed to secure the women. The attitude shown by courts in Japan regarding financial obligations no matter what the creditor's motives were, made it comparatively safe to risk money in this traffic.

It is difficult to establish just how many women were forced to leave for the purposes of prostitution overseas. Whatever their numbers, there appear to have been enough of them for the Salvation Army to have established a rescue home for girls at Dalny. According to one source, in all the ports of the Far East, in the cities of the western coast of the U.S., in Korea, Manchuria and Siberia, Japanese Imbaifu were counted 'by the hundreds and in some places, by the thousands'. ^{18,19}

Reliable sources on the methods employed by procurers for the trafficking of women suggest that their sojourn was overall neither safe nor profitable. As late as 1906 the revised criminal code in Japanese law provided that persons who were guilty of persuading girls to work in foreign countries would be liable to the same punishment, since it was required for girls who had been so lured to return to Japan for evidence. The effectiveness in preventing such traffic was exceedingly doubtful. The following case illustrates this situation clearly.

In September 1906, a man named Hattori was arrested in Naguya for procuring women to America. When he was questioned it

18. V.G. Murphy, 1908, The Social Evil in Japan and Allied Subjects, fourth edition, p. 23. A copy of this very detailed work is held in the National Library's Oriental Collection.

19. Same women were despatched as far west as Mauritius.

was found that he had been using the passports of women who had gone to America several years before and who were falsely reported to have returned to Japan. By having young women impersonate the persons to whom the passports were originally issued, and by using the passports time and time again he had sent substantial numbers of women to America. In most cases it appears that the women were deceived as to the type of employment they were to engage in upon their arrival in America. Hattori's brother, Masutaro, lived in Seattle and took charge of the women as soon as they landed, disposing of some by selling them and keeping others for his own establishment.

In the course of five years Masutaro had sent Hattori \$15,000 in payment for girls sent to him. Hattori had a large dairy farm near Nagoya. Upon his arrest he was in possession of a letter from Seattle which had been sent to him by his brother. The letter gave clear instructions as to how the trafficking procedures were to be followed. The letter read:

As far as possible send poor girls from the country who have never had anything to do with men. The last lot is giving me much trouble and I am afraid that I shall not even get the bargain money out of them. They are too common. I intend to work them a while and then cast them off. You must not be too strict on girls en route. If, after loading, they should run away to some distant interior place it would be difficult to catch them again. Of the lot before the last Koto has a good face - is strong and takes well with white men - Americans. She has already caught several lovers and is having a jolly time. Shizu, of the same lot, is weak and is in the hospital at present. It may be necessary to give her some rough treatment²⁰ and settle her case. It is best to make Seattle or Victoria the place of landing. Vancouver is no good. Tacoma is alright but as far as possible land them at Seattle or Victoria.²¹

20. Kill her.

21. V. G. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p. 27

After serving a sentence of 20 days in jail for violating passport regulations Hattori was released.

A man arrested in Nagasaki in 1906 for murdering a woman while smuggling a company of women to China, confessed to having enticed 1800 women and girls to leave the country during the preceding thirteen years. Some of them had been sent for the purposes of prostitution. He had a large number of men and women in charge continually securing young women, most of whom came from country areas, and collecting them at the ports from whence they were smuggled abroad. The young woman he had murdered had apparently refused to yield to his advances. According to some reports this had been done in order to intimidate the other women of the company.

In the case of the girls who had registered as prostitutes in Japan and who had later been sent abroad, there was very little chance of escaping their creditors. In the early 1890's, for instance, a passage from Japan to Thursday Island through the normal channels would cost approximately Y 12,²² yet many young women incurred debts which at times exceeded Y 100 which they were forced to pay back by the means of prostitution. Escape and return to Japan meant that they and their sureties were liable for all the debts incurred. That is, even if there had been opportunities for securing freedom, very few would have taken the steps to do so.

22. T. Hattori, 1894, Nankyu no Shinshokimin, Tokyo.

A clear picture of the Australian-based creditor's "connection" and what this involved in real terms for the Japanese women concerned can be obtained from two reliable sources. In 1893 three prostitutes were placed in quarantine. According to the communications from the Government Resident on Thursday Island, the women had come from Hong Kong and were heading for Normanton and Croydon. The fares had been paid by a Japanese resident of Thursday Island named Chiyokichi with whom they claimed to be "under agreement".²³ Two of the women had been bought from their parents for a meagre Y 80.

In 1874 the arrival of a prostitute named Hashimoto Usa, aged 21, who had come from Nagasaki prefecture, was communicated to the Home Secretary by the same source. Hashimoto claimed that in June of that year in Nagasaki she had been approached by a man named Kanishi who had offered her to be taken to visit her sister who ran a lodging house in Singapore. She agreed and at midnight, along with ten other girls, and without passports, she boarded a sailing ship. Upon reaching Shanghai they had been transferred, without landing, to a steamer bound for Hong Kong. There they had all been put into a lodging house. The proprietor of the lodging house, who Hashimoto suspected of having paid a large amount of money to Kanishi for her, advised her that without a passport it would be impossible for her to land in Singapore and had pressed her to go on to Thursday Island instead where, he argued, a passport was not needed.

23. Q.S.A. 55/1, C.S.O., 93/14648.

She had no choice but to accept, and left for Thursday Island in the company of other Japanese women in the same predicament, under the watchful eye of a Japanese named Matsubara. Upon their arrival in Thursday Island she had been handed over to a brothel keeper named Shiosaki. The final face of the transaction resulted in an agreement between her and Shiosaki in which she accepted having incurred a dept of Y 100 and which she undertook to pay him the amount by the means of prostitution. Ironically, in retrospect, the only consolation would be knowledge that the average monthly income of a Japanese prostitute was higher in Australia than anywhere else in the world. In Australia their per capita income averaged Y 400 (Y 209 in India; Y 120 in Singapore and Y 100 in Hong Kong). The rate of exchange at the time being approximately 1 stg. = 10 Yen.²⁴

The Japan Weekly Mail's claimed migration pattern of the imbaifu had already been raised in the Queensland Parliament in Hoolan in 1893. Hoolan went a step further, however, and claimed that the people mainly instrumental in bringing them there (referring to Thursday Island) were "prominent public men".²⁵ Hoolan does not, unfortunately qualify his statement or elaborate on the procedures employed by these people to pursue the exercise. There is evidence to suggest, however, that in addition to the international syndicates involved in the supply of Japanese women, there are also a number of Chinese and other small operators who acted as individuals or syndicates and invested in groups of Japanese

24. D.C. Sissons, op.cit.

25. The Japan Weekly Mail, 30 May, 1896.

prostitutes.²⁶ The fact that Chinese capitalists in Singapore were not prepared to lend money to Japanese other than for the purposes of setting up brothels suggests that the trade and overall enterprise was extremely lucrative as well as highly organised.

In fact, the gradual growth of prostitution into a large and commercialised enterprise involved considerable financial investment and, in turn generated enormous profits. It is very difficult to establish exactly how much money Japanese procurers and other investors in the trade made from Japanese prostitutes working in Australia. However, in Kansas, for example, it was estimated that the red light district was worth at least four hundred thousand dollars in capital investment; while in Chicago, reformers estimated that an astounding 15 million dollars of business revolved around the traffic of women.²⁷ As one reformer pointed out, 'a girl represents as a professional prostitute a capitalised value four times greater than she would represent as a hard working industrial worker'.²⁸

Although in 1891 the case of Chung Musgrave concluded that an alien who had been restricted entry into Australia had no legal standing²⁹, colonial governments appeared to be unprepared to put the Crown prerogative into practice to deny entry to immigrants on such categories. To exemplify this situation is the response given by the Western Australian Premier to a deputation which demanded

26. K. Daniels (ed.), So Much Hard Work. Women and Prostitution in Australian History (1984).

27. Ruth Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood. Prostitution in America, 1900-1918 (c. 1982).

28. R. Rosen, ibid., p.72.

29. Musgrave v. Chung Teeong Toy (1891), AC 272.

by the Western Australian Premier to a deputation which demanded the closure of Japanese brothels in Geraldton. He replied that "There was a difficulty in this matter and unless they prohibited the ingress of Japanese altogether they would hardly be able to keep out members of this particular class" at Thursday Island.³⁰

In 1887 Japanese prostitutes arrived at Thursday island and by 1889 they had reached Darwin, Geraldton, Normanton, Burktown and a number of other Gulf towns.

The Immigration Restriction Act of 1902 was highly ineffective in preventing the entry of Japanese prostitutes into the country. Indeed Japanese brothels continued to operate well after the Act had been introduced.³¹ This, plus the fact that in 1928 the Queensland Branch of the National Council for Women presented allegations to the customs authorities that groups of Japanese women were being landed at Townsville on a regular basis³² and Hoolan's 1893 argument in parliament that "among the late importation (of Japanese) are a number of females in pants and shirts",³³ suggests that there existed an underground network of considerable size³⁴ and organisations which supplied the highly successful Japanese brothel with new material.

30. Geraldton Advertiser, 27 Aug., 1894.

31. D.C. Sissons, op.cit.

32. Prostitution-Registration details of Home and Territories file 18/888 Q, A.A. A31.

33. Queensland Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 70, 1893.

34. There is also evidence to suggest that even small Japanese brothels may have had connections with the trade elsewhere in South East Asia and the Pacific. (See, for instance, K.Daniels, op.cit.)

In 1921 a report by H.W. Hardie, the Sub-Collector of Customs at Thursday island, addressed this issue. Hardie wrote:

I have just recently been placed in possession of some very disquieting information regarding the stowaway question and the story, which is briefly as here related, is being followed up. Each of the Japanese mail boats has a secret compartment which has been built by the botswain or the carpenter. It is fitted with electric light and has an electric fan to keep the air sweet. On every trip women are brought down. These women are led to believe that they are being taken to Australia to fill honourable positions and they go to the length of entering into bogus contacts. When they are on the vessels they are subjected to such treatment that their scruples are broken down and they then lead the immoral life they were originally intended to follow. It is stated that they are landed on an island near Thursday Island in collapsible boats; that a depot is in existence somewhere in North Queensland and that a launch proprietor takes them from the island where they land to such depot, whence they are subsequently distributed over Australia.

It is said that two of these women are now at Ayr. Of course it will be seen that there are flaws in the story, but it is possible that there is a grain of truth in it. I know that something similar was done in 1908 and it was in connection with the story that I held up Nobu Ide's (C[ertificate of E[xemption from the] D[ictation] T[est] pending investigation.³⁵

Whether Hoolan was referring to 'prominent public men' as being involved in international syndicates is yet to be fully ascertained. However, the fact that no evidence exists as to the attempts by police to prevent or control this situation further strengthened Hoolan's allegations in Parliament.

Political support of prostitution inevitably required a high degree of police compliance and corruption. The Register of Prosecutions commenced under the Federal Immigration Restriction Act for the period 1902-03, contains evidence to indicate that no

35. H.W. Hardie, to Sec., Home & Territories, 19 Jan. 1921, A.A. A 2219.

Japanese woman was ever charged as a prohibited immigrant under sec. 3(f) - 'any prostitute or person living on the prostitution of others'. The only reason given for the deportation of a number of Japanese women is failure to pass the dictation test, when, in fact, the Department of Home and Territories files suggests that a number (most likely all) of these women were operating as prostitutes. Although, on 20 July 1889, the South Australian Government, acting not under statute but rather under the prerogative, issued a proclamation directing all customs officers to the approval of the Treasurer 'to refuse and prevent admission into South Australia of any alien not entitled by treaty to enter South Australia'.³⁶ Japanese prostitutes were arriving in Australia without any major effort by government officials to prevent their entry.³⁷ In July 1898, for instance, nine Japanese prostitutes and their three escorts arrived on Thursday Island. They had come aboard the Tokyo Maru and, due to the fact that they had boarded the vessel at Hong Kong rather than Japan - the vessel's original starting point - the shipping company was, presumably, not contravening Japanese law. Samples of their supposed trade (clothing) were produced to substantiate their claims that they had come to Australia as merchants.³⁸

36. South Australian Government Gazette, 1898, no. 30 (21 July), p. 107.

37. Acting Consul, Townsville to Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, no. 3, 25 July 1898, Japan, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Nipon Gaiko Rounsho, 1898, vol. 2, p. 102.

38. In 1891 two Japanese prostitutes were deported on arrival at Thursday island by the Queensland Government to Hong Kong. An unusual action at the time. Their deportation may have been the result of a request made by the Japanese Consul for their deportation. Refer to D.C. Sissons, 1976-1977, op.cit.

It is not yet known whether Yoshiwaras, as was the case for all "mainstream" brothels and other red-light districts, were also subject to pay 'fines' to maintain official 'toleration'. It is highly likely, however, that this was the case since good relations with the police would have smoothed the daily workings of the traffic in women. The words of a saloon keeper in Portland, Maine, succinctly express this situation:

If you are a good fellow, set up drinks and cigars, and throw in a little [sexual] business on the side. There will be no trouble with the policeman on the beat. There will be no trouble to a place right down in town.³⁹

The profiteers of prostitution can be divided into two major categories: those who existed 'above and around' the vice districts, but whose economic involvement in the trade became a vital and necessary facet of a semi-legal, tolerated trade; and those who lived within the trades confines in a semi-isolated subculture of prostitution.⁴⁰ The first group, it has been suggested, was heavily composed of politicians and police. A factor corroborated by the fact that, as early as 1899 it was being inferred by the redoubtable Labor Member for Clermont, Vincent Lesina, that the Premier, J.R. Dickson, was once 'an agent ... in the habit of collecting rent from certain houses of assignation in Albert Street.'⁴¹ The latter,

39. Portland, Citizens' Committee of Portland to Investigate the Social Evil, First Report of the Citizens Committee to Investigate the Social Evil, p. 38.

40. Rosen, R., op.cit.

41. QPD LXXXIII, 16 Nov., 1899, p. 1033.

situated in Brisbane City proper, contained a complex of run-down tenements from which brothels were run.

In Storyville, the famous New Orleans red-light district, it was estimated that "over a million dollars a week, well over ten million dollars a year, probably closer to fifteen million, found its way into the stockings of the prostitutes, the cassocks of the clergymen who owned the whorehouses' property, the pockets of the politicians and the swelling accounts of the landlords".⁴²

The passive role Australian government officials chose to take on the issue of the trafficking of Japanese prostitutes is clearly demonstrated by the case of a Japanese prostitute named Oshida Tsumoe. Convicted on 13 June under section 4(1),⁴³ Yoshida's is the only case of a stowaway to be legally ascertained. The fact that as early as 1896 the Bulletin was writing: "within the last two months they have introduced women in men's clothing for the purposes of prostitution ... these women are attended by a keeper to every gang, and are practically, as the police here know",⁴⁴ further corroborates the reluctance shown by government and immigration officials to effectively prevent the entry of Japanese prostitutes into Australia.

42. Chicago, Social Evil, p. 113, quoted in Al Rose, Storyville, New Orleans, p. 30.

43. This stated that an 'immigrant who evades an officer who enters the Commonwealth at any place where no officer is stationed may be applied the dictation test at any time thereafter found within the Commonwealth'.

44. The Bulletin (Thursday Island), 11 Jan., 1896.

In a response to Queensland's economic dependency on indentured coloured labourers working the sugar plantations and the pearling luggers, the Queensland government allowed for the importation of a controlled number of Japanese prostitutes to serve as suitable outlets to their sexual passions'.⁴⁵

Yohohamas in Australia

<p>J A P A N E S E L A U N D R Y, Collins-street. Washing Done at the Shortest Notice and at Reasonable Prices.</p>

46

Yokohamas - Japanese Brothels in Australia

Japanese laundries where, according to one of its dissatisfied customers, 'clothes were thoroughly ruined by the method of steam cleaning with condensed water and chemicals after which they were hung out to dry in dust storms - red dust storms - so that any garment which had been once white very soon became pinky-red'⁴⁷ often provided the facade for a much more profitable enterprise - prostitution. In fact Japanese brothels in Australia seldom functioned without the front of legitimate shop-keeping and, as some

15. Report by Police Commissioner, W.E. Parry-Okeden, February 1899, QSA. col. A 931.t

46. The Kalgoolie Miner, Jan. 1, 1879.

47. N. Keesing, (ed.), The History of the Australian Gold Rushes by Those Who were There (1967), p. 330.

evidence suggests, even its small operators had connections with the international syndicates, particularly in South East Asia and the Pacific, which provided the women.⁴⁸

A report by the police at Bundaberg (Qld.) in 1899 provides valuable information to confirm this aspect of Japanese brothels in Australia. It stated that Japanese men and women had been arriving in the town almost on a daily basis and opening up brothels which were invariably disguised as fruit or soft drink shops in the main street. This appears to have been the practice wherever Japanese brothels operated. In July 1891, following an increase in Seattle's King Street, Fujita Yoshiro, a Japanese official, in a report concerning the circumstances of the Japanese in the Pacific Northwest wrote:

In Seattle there is one grocery store and ten restaurants owned and operated by Japanese, and approximately 250 Japanese live there at present. Of these 250, only 10 have steady jobs as proprietors and employees of the grocery and restaurants. Another 200, if not prostitutes or owners of houses of pleasure, are either gamblers or pimps. Some of the restaurants themselves are operated in conjunction with a house of pleasure, either separately or as part of a single establishment. In short, five or six of the restaurants are connected in one way or another with prostitution.⁴⁹

Japanese traffickers' autobiographical writings provide an indispensable departing point from which the dimensions of the operations of Japanese brothels abroad may be analysed. The autobiography of Muraoka Iheji - a name synonymous with the trafficking of Japanese prostitutes - is such a case. Muraoka claims

48. K. Daniels (ed.), op.cit.

49. Y. Waka, Ameyuki-san no uta: yamada waka no suki, Naru Shogai (The Story of Yamada Waka) (1978), p. 16.

that during the years 1890-1894 while based at the traffick's headquarters - Singapore - he organised for the smuggling of 3,222 women from Japan to Singapore and, concurrently was in charge of despatching 20-30 girls per month to Australia. He writes:

As soon as I got back to Singapore (from India) I provided women for the Australian region. I took 8 to Takano at Furugaten in Western Australia, and in the same way, 22 to Nishiyama. The natural products there are: gold, silver, pearl-shell, wool and coal. The natives are called Binghi. There the Japanese prostitutes also go inland. An old madam, Asume, goes on tour with two girls. They carry their tents with them on their backs. O-Ratsu-san also goes on circuit with two girls. Each of them has put away three to four thousand Yen. A man from Wakayama Prefecture is working 5 girls in Furugaten; so next I provided Osaka and Sakota with 8 girls each and set them up in business ... After that I got Matsuda and Araki each to take girls to Furugaten.⁵⁰

Tomoko Yamazaki's Sandakan Hachiban Shokan (Brothel No. 8 at Sandakan) published in 1972, provides substantial evidence to suggest that Muraoka's assertions are not entirely accurate and require to be questioned. Fundamentally, she argues that Muraoka's word is not to be relied upon on two grounds: firstly, based on the plethora of material which has been written by Japanese travellers and residents in South East Asia, many of which make reference to the names of the prominent brothel-keepers, not a single one of these mentions Muraoka. Secondly, many of the claims in his autobiography are basically incorrect. Yamazaki's personal interviews with women who had been prostitutes in their youth⁵¹ provide further evidence to discredit Muraoka's work. Not one of the women interviewed had ever heard of him.

50. How much one can rely on Muraoka's work is difficult to ascertain since various arguments have been put forward to discredit his claims.

51. The interviews took place in the early 1970s when the women were already in their 90's.

As the above passage indicates, Muraoka's references to Australia deal exclusively with Western Australia and the only specific name provided by his editors appears in the Japanese Second Syllabary - Katakana⁵² - as Furugaten: D.C. Sissons has argued that, on the basis that Muraoka's handwriting was hard to read, as his editors claimed, Furugaten could likely be Coolgardie. The fact that the Japanese characters fu(フ) and ku(ク) are extremely similar further substantiate Sisson's argument.

Sissons' further exploration of the subject however, reveals that the supposed conclusion of Muraoka's illicit trade in 1894 presents a major obstacle to this thesis since there is substantial local evidence to suggest that Japanese prostitutes did not reach Coolgardie until two years later.⁵³ Muraoka's references to wool and pearlshell as well as "binghis" - a name given to the indigenous population - are also highly at odds with Coolgardie's raw products and markets. According to Sissons, Cossack, Roeburne and the Pilbara goldfields,⁵⁴ which produced the goods described by Muraoka and, whose local Aborigine population was known as Binghis, is the most likely area to which the procurer could have been referring.

If, at least part of Muraoka's writings are correct, they confirm the changes which occurred in the practice of prostitution in

52. This form is used primarily for foreign names and place names and words of foreign origin. The symbols are made up of straight lines. D.C. Sissons supports this thesis.

53. Refer to Coolgardie Pioneer, 17 April, 1897. See also ibid, 8 July 1896. The articles provide a detailed history of prostitution in Coolgardie.

54. These were proclaimed in July 1899.

the latter part of the 19th century. In the early 1800s, although brothels existed, the majority of prostitutes practiced their trade much like the artisans who owned the tools and products of their own craft. She sold herself in a relatively open and unorganised market. As the number of women working as prostitutes increased, large numbers of women became part of a permanent and professional class of prostitutes. Customers were sought in seaports, mining camps - as was the case for the Japanese prostitute, or wherever a large unattached male population worked. By the late 19th century, with an increase in urbanisation, prostitutes began to be isolated into tolerated red-light districts and became part of a complex and commercialised business, with third party agents, as Muraoka's autobiography indicates, seeking a share in the profit.

There is evidence to suggest that procuring young girls for the purposes of prostitution abroad was not an exclusively male activity. In an essay, 'to an American Woman, in Love In Our Society', Yamada Waka, a Japanese prostitute, who, in the early 1900's was to become one of Japan's leading feminist writers, expresses her own experiences at the hands of a female procurer. She explains that, when she was only eighteen, she met the wife of a 'successful' Japanese businessman in Yokohama and was advised to go to America "where men are digging gold from the mines and getting rich, where women earn several times more than a seamstress or housemaid in Japan'. At an impressionable age, she was easily convinced and given a sealed letter which the woman told her to present to her husband upon her arrival in America. However, as

soon as she arrived in America, she was seized by pimps and sold to a brothel.⁵⁵

The Japanese brothels international networks as well as their vast organisational and managerial experience made them highly profitable and competitive enterprises which were, on the whole, run by men whose financial investments gave them considerable control over the operation of prostitution as a business. The Bulletin in 1895, on a more ingenuous note, attributed their success to qualities such as honesty and sobriety. 'The Japanese', it argued, 'very numerous in Western Australia totally eclipse their white competitors. They are particularly clean, modest, exceedingly polite, don't steal and look upon their calling in a purely commercial sense'. It concluded by suggesting that 'no woman can compete against these brown dots of humanity'.⁵⁶

The brothels high standards did not, as may be expected detract criticism toward their existence. Alexander Marks, in a despatch to the Foreign Ministry, for instance, reported that at Darwin the brothel keepers required the prostitutes to walk the streets improperly clothed,⁵⁷ local residents united under this issue, sought to have Japanese brothels or entire Yokohamas banned. In Geraldton, for instance, 733 signatures were collected for this purpose.

55. T. Yamazaki, op.cit.

56. The Bulletin, November 16, 1895.

57. Data paper prepared on the instructions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 20 Feb. 1891, J.F.M.A.II, 4.2.2.34, Vol. 1, in D.C. sissons, op.cit., p. 481.

A description of the Charters Towers red-light district by the journalist Claude Mackay provides a clear picture of the sight with which the passers-by may have been confronted, as they went about their daily routines. In his autobiography he described the Yokahama as follows:

We walked along the street they occupied. The women were perched on raised platforms, fanning themselves in the heat. Behind their heads was a light with a reflector. They were dressed in their national costume, and wore lacquered ornaments in their hair.⁵⁸

Although the Japanese ethno-specific internal networks and relations have not yet been adequately examined by scholars, references to the Japanese residents' reactions to the Japanese prostitution issue provide an interesting starting point. In 1899, following the report by the police at Bundaberg regarding the arrival of Japanese prostitutes and procurers and the establishment of brothels, the Japanese residents sent a deputation to the police station requesting that all Japanese brothels be closed. The reasons they put forward for this were that 'it could injure them seriously in the opinions of the white population if the brothels ... were allowed to continue'.⁵⁹ The prostitutes presence in public places appears to have generated substantial criticism. Demands for the closure of eight of nine Japanese brothels in Cue were justified by the Murchison Advocate in the following manner.

We do not say that all are ill conducted ... or that they are disorderly in any sense but a technical one, we do not argue that they are not a necessary evil; we are not indeed,

58. Data paper prepared on the instructions of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, 20 Feb. 1891, in D.S.C. Sissons, Op cit, p 485

59. C. McKay, This is Life, Sydney 1961, pp. 51-52.

prepared to contend that they would be an evil outside the town boundaries. What we do say is ... there is no reason why they should disfigure the two main thoroughfares of the town.⁶⁰

The presence of Japanese prostitutes, accompanied by factors such as jealousy and competition led, on many occasions, to events of violence within the Japanese community. The deaths of Ornatsu (Thursday Island) and Orvi (Thursday Island 1895) exemplify this situation.⁶¹

THE KANOWNA TRAGEDY.

CONCLUSION OF INQUEST.

Kanowna, September 8

An inquest touching the cause of death of the Japanese man and woman who were found dead in the Japanese quarter of the town August 31, was held by the Coroner, Warden Troy, to-day. The evidence was lengthy. Evidence was given by Japanese showing that the deceased, Maki Seykichi, came from Kalgourlie on August 28 and slept in the house of Matsuo Ota that night. In the morning the pair were preparing to leave the house. Ota, putting up her clothes, when a shot was heard and a Japanese girl, a partner of Ota, rushed into the room, and found Seykichi with a revolver in his hand, standing over Ota, who was kneeling on the floor before a clothes trunk. She called to Seykichi who threw the revolver on the bed. He left the room, and when the door was shut she heard three shots, and called for assistance. She found Ota dead on the floor and Seykichi leaning over the box. The police were called in, and a doctor was sent for. Seykichi died in the hospital under medical examination. The jury found that Ota had been murdered by Seykichi, who had committed suicide.

The violence to which Japanese prostitutes were subject was perpetrated by both Japanese and Caucasian men. In 1898 an escaped prisoner at Nulligene stabbed two Japanese women. At Onslow another Japanese woman was stabbed. This time, by a Manilaman.

Japanese men were also responsible for violence against prostitutes of other nationalities. The murder by Seto Tsunekichi of a French prostitute named Maurguerite du tour on December 3, 1910, suggests that Anglo-Saxon prostitutes were involved in economic relations with Japanese men who, most likely functioned as their 'pimps' and,

60. Q.S.A. Hom/A24, 99/04177.

61. Cooktown Courier, 24 april 1894, Evening Observer, 28 May 1894. See also C.S.O., 1296/89 and 169/90, W.A. State Archives.

perhaps more importantly, that the Japanese quarter or Hokohama, was not a "closed ethno-specific territorial boundary when it came to the trade itself.

It is not certain whether a hierarchical structure based on colour existed in Japanese brothels in Australia as it did, for instance, in the brothels in Seattle in the United States. There, girls with lighter complexions were exclusively reserved for Caucasian clients.⁶² It is also likely that this system meant that some of the women enjoyed a higher status within the brothel's social structure, as well as greater financial gains.

A serious attempt to control the problem of Japanese prostitutes overseas took place on 6 July 1885 when Japan's Foreign Minister issued instructions to prefectural governors that the antecedents, occupations and destinations of all women proceeding overseas unaccompanied by their families should be carefully checked and that, in suspicious cases, passports should not be issued. However, this strategy failed to produce the desired effects. On the contrary, it resulted in the women leaving clandestinely without passports - a much more dangerous exercise.

By 1899, there were six well established Japanese brothels at Bundaberg despite the fact that two years earlier, Section 231 of the Queensland Criminal Code made the keeping of "a place of any kind whatever for the purposes of prostitution" a crime punishable by

62. T.Yamazaki, *op.cit.*

'imprisonment with hard labour for three years'.⁶³ In 1902, 31 Japanese prostitutes continued to operate on Thursday Island.

63. Queensland Criminal Code, Sec. 231, quoted in Kay Daniels ed., op.cit., p. 148. So Much Hard Work: Women and Prostitution in Australian History, 1984.

PART TWO

'Sayonara Nakamura'

Japanese Participation in the Pearling Industry

An American poster for a 1937 Australian film directed by K.G. Hall, originally entitled 'Lovers and Luggers', featuring a Chinese actor publicised as 'Australia's Charlie Chan', gives some indication as to the "romantic" image the pearling industry may have represented for many of those who journeyed across the Pacific.¹

In approximately 1878 Thursday Islanders began to witness an event which was to have significant repercussions in the island's socio-economic infra-structure in the years to come - the entry of Japanese indentured labourers into the pearling industry. By 1893 these numbered about 15 and in November of the following year, the first group of Japanese, totalling 37, recruited under contract for the industry were brought to Thursday Island by the Master Pearler, Captain John Miller. The reason for their introduction into the country may be summarised in the words of the Queensland Premier in 1893. He explained:

So far as the introduction of Japanese is concerned I believe they have been brought here merely to fill the places that would otherwise have been filled by Kanakas, and that their presence will improve the position of the white labourers in the

1. Refer to Appendix section.

colony. If we find labourers for tropical plantations, the white men will be able to do all other work.²

Asian labour was cheap and efficient, and saved management from costs of training workers whose culture did not differentiate between 'work' and other activities and was hence not adaptable to cash economies,³ as would have been the case had Aborigines been sought exclusively for this exercise.

During the skin-diving era, the industry employed native labour almost exclusively. The divers came from the islands of the Pacific and Torres Strait ports of the Malay Archipelago and particularly in the west, from the Australian mainland. Streeter put it succinctly: "There are no Europeans in the boats but coloured men of all sorts and conditions are to be found there."⁴

The Japanese had been engaged in the industry since 1883 and had come to establish a reputation for their efficiency. In Broome in 1893, shellers described them as "the most industrious, thrifty and well conducted element in the town".⁵ In both Darwin and Queensland employers were equally impressed with their industry, frugality and thrift.⁶

2. D.C. Sissons, 'Japanese in the Northern Territory' South Australian, Vol. 16, 1977.

3. C.D. Rowley, 1970, The Destruction of Aboriginal Society.

4. Streeter, Pearls and Pearling Life (London 1886), p. 195.

5. From report made by W. Saville-Kent, Marine Biologist to Fisheries, Department, W.A., 17 August 1898.

6. Report of the Government Resident, Northern Territory.

By the mid-nineties the indispensable Japanese, seeking a more direct share in the profits of their labour, threatened the monopoly of white ownership and confronted Europeans with two major issues.⁷ Namely: how on the one hand, to claim access to such labour - notwithstanding national anti-Asian feelings - while on the other, to ensure that the imported labour remained subordinate. By exploiting the prevalent anti-alien feelings in the country, European pioneers were able, within certain limits, to receive protection for their interests. The initial shift in this situation occurred in the minor pearling centre at Shark Bay⁸ where Chinese who had been imported on contract labour had purchased boats and equipment and were directly competing with their former employers. It was suggested by the latter that restricted leases be introduced. Governor Broome consulted the Colonial Office on their behalf.⁹ The Secretary of State's response was that there was no objection to discriminatory legislation on the condition that it refer specifically to waters within the three mile limit.¹⁰ An Act was passed in 1886 and, following the purchase of all Chinese equipment, the government leased the beds to European pearlers at an annual rental.¹¹

Encouraged by the Shark Bay precedent and, further by the grant of discretionary powers in relation to the issue of licences

7. See Government Resident Report, T.I., 1892-3.

8. The industry at Shark Bay collected pearls rather than shell.

9. Votes and Proceedings, W.A. Legislative Council, 1886. Governor Broome to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 16 Jan. 1886.

10. Ibid., 1886, Secretary of State to Governor Broome, 3 Mar. 1886.

11. Ibid., 1890-1, 'Report on Shark's Bay Pearl Fishery'.

made to the Governor in the 1889 Act, shellers in the North where Asian manned fleets prevailed, put pressure on the government to refuse all ship licences to alien applicants on the grounds that the activities of both Chinese and Japanese-owned boats would, by unfair means, exclude white pioneers from the industry and deplete the shell banks. By 1892 the request had been fulfilled and all licensing officers were instructed to withhold licences from Asians who did not already possess licences under the 1886 Act.¹²

In 1903, the James Government attempted to give clear statutory form to this principle,¹³ however the Bill was dropped. It was not until 1912 that the pearlshelling Act included a specific exclusion of alien-licence ownership. Consequently, between the years 1892 and 1912 the Japanese were effectively restricted from any direct legal participation in the ownership of the industry. Of course, the dependency of that industry upon their labour was not at all decreased. In fact, a Commission was appointed to examine the state of the industry with particular attention being given to the role and position of the Japanese. The arguments which had been previously expounded concerning the vital function Japanese labour played within the industry were only further substantiated by this Commission. It argued that were Japanese labour removed, the industry would collapse.

The Commission's report became the basis of the 1898 Pearlshelling Bill. It was introduced by the Premier to confine the

12. Queensland Parliamentary Debates, 20 Dec. 1896, for example telegram Premier of W.A. to Premier Queensland, outlining anti-alien regulations.

13. W.A. Parliamentary Debates, 10 Aug. 1862, vol. 2.

'Shell and Beche-de-Mer industry of the colony to British ownership and not allow it to be gradually absorbed by the alien population such as we know has settled and is likely to continue at the gates of Australia'.¹⁴ The Premier was referring to Thursday Island.

There are a plethora of reasons as to why Japanese pearldivers were rapidly absorbing the industry; however, two in particular appear to be the most convincing: financial support from the Karayukisan, and the economic relationship they were initially able to manipulate with the indigenous community.

Japanese Pearldivers and their Exploitation of Aboriginal Labour

'Competitive' race-relations involve factors such as antagonism, suspicion, but most importantly as the term implies, a high degree of competition between the various ethnic/racial groups for a place in the economy. For the Japanese indentured labourer working in the pearling industry this was achieved by exploitation of the indigenous community. For the Aborigine men and women it meant that simply because they were Aborigines, they were neither expected, nor allowed, to rise any higher in occupational status than "cane cutting or working farms or timber getting or driving or boundary-riding or fishing, or engaged on bech-de-mer and pearling luggers or cutting sandal wood or mining".¹⁵ The basic, though essential services they performed for minimal wages were never intended to bring them

14. Qld. Parliamentary Debates, 20 Dec. 1898.

15. Queensland Figaro, 13 October 1893, p. 5.

into economic competition with the white worker. This factor in inter-ethnic relations was clearly expressed in the arguments of the Home Secretary, Horace Tozer, when, in 1887, he suggested that Aborigines "... are not suitable for all kinds of employment, and we do not intend to bring them into conflict with the whites in that respect".¹⁶ Aborigine men were engaged on pearling luggers at extremely low wages or not paid at all and Aborigine women were sought for sexual gratification in exchange for either food or tobacco.

In 1889, the Meston Report on A Government Scientific Expedition to Ballenden ker Range indicates that people still living under tribal conditions had developed trading relationships with ships along the coast, and that when there was nothing else to sell, or as a matter of hospitality, they would make the women available for the flour and tobacco which they must have once they had formed new dietary habits.¹⁷

In the earliest days of the pearling industry, Aborigines had been engaged to dive for shell, "women", Walkabout reported in 1935, "were the most expert divers until 1868 when legislation was introduced to put an end to this practice".¹⁸ The Report of the Roth Royal Commission on the Condition of Aborigines (known as the Roth Report)¹⁹, in 1905 established that small children were being

16. Ibid., p. 4.

17. Queensland Votes and Proceedings, 1896, vol. 4, p. 725.

18. Walkabout, August 1, 1935.

19. W.A. Votes and Proceedings (L.C.), 1905, Vol. I, "Report of the Royal Commission on the Conditions of the Natives"

indentured, some for pearling. The Chief Protector of Western Australia claimed that six years was an appropriate age for indenturing. Demoralisation on the shell boats and around the ports was unavoidable, as the Aboriginal socio-economic fabric was largely destroyed and venereal disease, drunkenness and prostitution became the order of the day.²⁰

Aboriginals working the pearling industry who decided to leave were hunted back by police as a matter of course, even when there had been no breach of contract or a contract at all. The Aborigines Protection Bill of 1899, made an attempt to deprive Japanese pearl divers from employing Aboriginal labour. This Bill, however, instigated Japan's strong criticism of the Queensland government. Japan argued that it had been on Japanese efforts alone that an Australian pearl shelling industry had been developed.

In a letter to the Chief Secretary dated 6 November 1899, Iijima²¹ argued that, with few exceptions, Japanese immigrants came to the colony to seek employment for a period of two to three years, following which they returned to their native country. He referred to the conditions of employment under which these people worked as usually regarded as unsuitable for European labourers but argued, therefore, that the question of competition which had been discussed in the 1898 pearlshelling bill "was no matter for complaint on the part of European labourers but rather on the part of the Polynesians

20. Evans, G., 1971, 'Thursday Island 1878-1914: A Plural Society', B.A. Hons. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Queensland.

21. Votes and Proceedings, Qld. Leg. Ass. 1901 (Pt. 2), Iijima to Dickson, 6 Nov., 1899.

and people of other nationalities who did engage in such work". The Consul made explicit the Japanese government's objection "to see their subjects included in the general category of Asiatic races, without any consideration being paid to their stage of civilisation".²²

An article published in the Japanese Asahi,²³ in which the position of Japanese subjects in Queensland was compared with that of the British subjects and other Uitlanders in the Transvaal, provided further criticism of the Queensland government. The article, referring to the Japanese problem as "The Japanese persecution in Thursday Island" argued that the demands of the Japanese people were not made with a view to the "taking possession of Thursday Island, but simply with a view to the preservation of the acquired rights of Japanese in consideration of the historical fact that the present development of the island is entirely due to the energy of the Japanese, and nothing more". The report went on to argue that Japanese were being discriminated against financially by not being able to employ Aboriginal labour.

In a letter to the Governor, the Premier of Queensland argued that two major inaccuracies were contained in the article's reference to the Japanese immigrant in the pearling industry. First, he maintained that the Japanese had "not acquired any rights" in consideration of the facts adduced in the colony, except as had been secured by treaties which were fully recognised and respected by the Queensland authorities and that it was not a "historical fact that

22. Votes and Proceedings, Qld. Les. Ass. 1901 (Pt. 2), Iijima to Dickson, 6 Nov., 1899.

23. Asahi, 30 Nov., 1900.

the development of the island was a product of Japanese efforts". Further, he went on to say that "the fishery which was the main source of the local revenue, had been originally operated and developed by the enterprise of European owners, the number of whom engaged in the industry was quite sufficient to work the whole of the ground". the Premier argued that rather than developing the industry, the large number of Japanese who had been employed to assist in the labour of the fisheries had only taken advantage of the opportunities offered by the industry to the extent of not only prejudicing the interests of those to whom the very existence of the industry was due, but that they had also impoverished the ground instead of developing its resources.

In reference to the claims that Japanese immigrants were discriminated against by not being permitted to employ Aboriginal labour, the Premier argued that the Bill had been transmitted to the Legislative Council and had been passed with certain further amendments, but that in the meantime, the "inequitable operation of such a provision" had been so strongly represented to the government that it had been their intention, when the Bill was submitted to the Assembly, to withdraw the clause from the measure. The session, he claimed had, however, closed before the Bill could be passed through its final stages and had, consequently, "never become law".²⁴

Further attacks were made on the inadequacy of the Pearlshelling Bill of 1898 by Baron Hayashi who, in a letter to the

24. Votes and Proceedings, Qld. Leg. Ass., 1901, Premier of Queensland to the Governor, 3 May, 1900.

Chief Secretary of Queensland, opposed the Aborigines Protection Bill of 1899 on the grounds that although in its essence it had as its goal the "preservation" of the indigenous population, stipulations in the Bill clearly excluded "Japanese from freely engaging Aboriginal labour in all their legitimate pursuits inasmuch as the Bill places restrictions only on aliens of Asiatic or African descent".²⁵

Meston's "Report on the Government Scientific Expedition to Bennenden ker Range" (1889), maintains that the Chinese, Malaya, South Sea Islanders, south of Cape York Peninsula, had obtained Aboriginal wives usually by abducting them without the consent of the tribe. This practice, Meston argued, had in some cases resulted in spearing. The Report went on to make recommendations of absolute prohibition of employment of Aborigines in the pearling boats, even though he recognised that some pearlers had treated Aboriginal employees well. His argument rested on the impossibility of maintaining any control once the a vessel had left port. Meston claimed that outrages by the pearling and other crews continued with the usual results in the prostitution of women and the abduction of boys and girls.

After 1930 the main area of publicised violence was Arnhemland. Here, tensions within Aboriginal society appear to have been accentuated by the greater activities of the missions and of the pearling and trepanging expeditions from Darwin, Thursday Island, the Japanese Trust Territory.²⁶ Japanese operations were also

25. Ibid., Hayashi to Dickson, 30 July, 1900.

26. C.D. Rowley, The Destruction of Aboriginal Society (Victoria 1972, p. 193.

found off Port Keats where three Japanese fishermen were killed in 1932 by a group of Aborigines led by Namarluk.²⁷ At Caledon Bay in 1933 five Japanese crew members were also murdered by Aborigines - an act which forced the Commonwealth Government to review the situation.²⁸

Of the five who were suspected of the crime, three were tried for the murder of the Japanese and convicted in August 1934.²⁹ Because the offence was a capital one, they were tried by jury. At the time the Commonwealth Government had been re-evaluating the question of cross cultural justice - an action instigated partly, it appears, by representatives of the A.P.N.R. and a year earlier had abolished the use of juries except for capital offences.³⁰ Concurrently, an amendment to the law had enabled a court of the Northern Territory to take into consideration the cultural background of an Aboriginal offender in deciding the sentence.

Hasluck and Elkin have both pointed out the tendency of white juries to bring in verdicts of not guilty for tribal killings of Aborigines as long as a white man was not involved.³¹ Of particular interest is the fact that at a time of great Asian antagonism and the furore of the Immigration Act, the Japanese victims fell into this specification. Mr. Justice Wells sentenced the three who had been

27. Ibid., p. 290.

28. Ibid., p. 291.

29. Argus (Melbourne), 2 August, 1934.

30. Criminal Procedure Ordinance, 1933.

31. A.P. Elkin, "Aboriginal Evidence and Justice in North Australia", Oceania, March 1947.

found guilty to twenty years in gaol. The fact that interference with their women had been a provocation was reported to have not been taken into consideration by the judge. Wells also expressed that the kindest way to treat Black criminals was to hang them. He is said to have refrained from the death sentence, remarking, in relation to the twenty years that anything less would only incapacitate them to learn the means and ways of hardened criminals and to introduce these to their tribes.³²

Overall, from the late 1880s Japanese pearl divers had a considerable impact on the socio-economic structure of Thursday Island and other pearling towns. Their presence altered not only the economic infrastructure of the white population, but also interfered with the indigenous community's economic organisation, traditional values, beliefs and customs.

Economic Interdependence between Japanese Prostitutes and Japanese Pearldivers

An interesting thesis regarding the Imbaifu's capital value is provided by Tomoko Yamazaki. The latter suggests that the leniency shown by the Japanese government toward the emmigration as well as trafficking of Japanese women for the purpose of prostitution overseas is closely bound to the political and military aspirations Japan had during the Meiji and Taisho periods. Yamazaki argues that Japan in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was at a stage when it was too weak to advance politically

32. Herald (Melbourne), 17 May 1934; see also Argus (Melbourne), 11 July and 2 August 1934.

and militarily into China or South East Asia, advanced first economically - and without the need for capital: it adopted the scheme of sending out prostitutes in large numbers with the idea of bringing to fruition the slogan "enrich the nation: strengthen the army" through use of the foreign currency thus channelled in. Yamasaki concludes by arguing that the Karayuki san was necessary to Japan until "it became able to stand up in some measure politically, econmically and militarily to the western powers and that, on the basis of this, the Japanese government made no attempt to correct the matter, "notwithstanding the repeated demand from Christians of conscience and from advocates of women's liberation (liberation in the widest sense of the term) on the one hand, and from consuls stationed in every part of South East Asia on the other, to rehabilitate the prostitute and control the procurers".³³

There is some evidence to suggest that Japanese prostitutes functioned in the capacity of money lenders when it came to their compatriots working in the pearling industry. The latter was a highly profitable enterprise and one within which the Japanese labourer played an important role - two fators which would have appealed to the money-conscious imbaifu. In 1893 when the Senior Representative of the Queensland Government on Thursday Island, John Douglas, officially inspected the Japanese brothels on that island concluded in his report on the subject that "the profits are very considerable and although I have been unable to establish exactly how these profits are divided - several Japanese women are known to have made a good deal of money and much of this has been

33. Tomoko Yamazaki, op.cit. p. 58.

invested in shares of shelling boats."³⁴ What follows in his report is of particular value in corroborating this practice. Arguing that Japanese participation in the pearling industry might eventually lead to their total monopolisation of the enterprise, Douglas's report made strong recommendations that immediate action be taken to prevent the entry of Japanese prostitutes into the colony.³⁵

It is highly likely that Japanese prostitutes in Australia financially supported the business ventures of their male compatriots, particularly those working in the pearling industry - one of the most lucrative industries of the time. Japanese brothels in Singapore and Hong Kong, where most Japanese prostitutes had already plied their trade prior to coming to Australia would have provided these with essential information regarding investment procedures. The extent to which Japanese imbaifu influenced the business community is indicated by the total collapse of entire business communities when Yokohamas were shut down in both these places.³⁶

34. Douglas to Hon. H. Tozer, 2 Oct. 1893, Q.S.A., S 511 Col. Sec. Q 3/12777.

35. Douglas to Col. Sec. 7 Oct. 1893.

36. D.C. Sissons, op.cit. 1976-77.

PART THREE

'Which Country will be her Grave?'

Japanese-Aboriginal Miscegenation

ANNA was of a lower caste than NAWNIM. Her father was a Japanese. Therefore, according to the laws of the land, which recognised no diluent for Aboriginal blood but that of a white race, she was a full blooded blackgin and not entitled to franchise as Nawnim theoretically would be when he came of age ... she earned her living by washing clothes for the richer mebmers of the Asiatic crews of the pearling fleet and by giving her favours to those of them she liked.¹

In Van den Berghe's 'competitive' typology of race relations, miscegenation is exceedingly difficult as a result of the decline in contact between castes as the society becomes increasingly compartmentalised into racially homogeneous ghettos.² Miscegenation, a term used to refer to the inter-breeding of races especially between whites and negroes, was officially used in the Territory to refer to all white/black liaison and implied an immoral act. Miscegenation, in particular between Aboriginal women and white men was not uncommon and, as in other paternalistic systems, was accepted by the dominant groups as another of its legitimate

1. Xavier Herbert, *Capricornia* (1938), p. 55.

2. P.L. van den Berghe, op.cit.

prerogatives and forms of exploitation. Casual sex and prostitution could be justified and dismissed as a 'physical necessity' however, recognition of emotional attachment with an Aboriginal woman was met with virulent criticism.

Fundamentally, in colonial Queensland, racial compartmentalisation was attempted by a variety of methods. One of these involved the Aborigines Act of 1905 in which provisions against miscegenation (Sections 35, 40, 43) made it an offence to be within five chains of a place "where Aborigines or female half-castes are camped", for Aboriginal females to be within two miles of creeks where pearling luggers came between sunset and sunrise, and, strangely, to "habitually" live with Aborigines, or to cohabit.³ The racism of the white pioneers on the frontier was commonly justified by a combination of pseudo-Darwinism and the general attitudes and assumptions held by the white settler. However, regardless of special legislation and general negative social sanctions to prevent miscegenation, sexual relations between Japanese and other Asian indentured labourers with Aboriginal women became a common practice.

George Herbert Sunter in his Adventures of a Trepang Fisher (1937), had some interesting observations on the subject.

These men (referring to Japanese) are brought from their country to work in Australia but our laws do not allow their womenfolk to accompany them, and they are thus cut off from such society. the Holy Bible tells us that man was not made to live alone - his proper sphere is to have a wife - it has been pointed out that such has been denied to these people and

3. Aborigines Act, 1905 (S. edw. VII, No. 4), Sections 36,40,43.

perfectly natural they look for substitutes and find them in the Aboriginal women.⁴

With regard to the attitude Aborigine men had toward such relations Sunter suggested that:

Australian native is intensely jealous about his own colour having anything to do with his womenfolk. At least ninety per cent of the fights are over this matter. But a blackfellow is ever ready to lend his womenfolk temporarily for a consideration to men of his colour.⁵

In fact, the abduction of Japanese pearling crews of Aborigine boys and girls as well as women became a common practice along the coastal towns; with disease and violence being characteristic of this situation. In response to the frequent kidnappings of their womenfolk, the Cape York Aborigines expressed their hostility toward the perpetrators of the crime by murder and stealing boats.

The coast from Newcastle Bay north, being closest to the pearling fields and the straits, was the most seriously affected. In 1889 the Meston Report maintained that twenty-five years before there had been twelve tribes and 3,000 people there and now this had been reduced to only a hundred or so. This report included a detailed description of the problems arising from the disputes about women and the kidnapping of children in Cape York - both customs of long-standing from the days when the sealers on the islands off Tasmania kidnapped the women. The Report also mentioned that in cases where Aborigine women had been abducted by Japanese without

4. George Herbert Sunter, 1937, Adventures of a Trepang Fisher, p.7.

5. Ibid., p.8.

the consent of the tribe, had resulted in spearings. In September 1880, it was reported that five Cape York "boys" attempting to return to their tribe, had escaped with the lugger Ida.⁶

The tremendous sexual imbalance which existed among the Japanese community appears to be greatly responsible for the high incidence of violence between these two groups. A report by Alba Tsuneji, a clerk from the Sydney Consulate General, of his official visit to the southern part of Western Australia during August-September 1908, clearly explains this situation. A table⁷ giving the breakdown of sexes, occupation and prefecture of origin of the Japanese residing within the radius of approximately Geraldton, Cue, Kalgoorlie and Albany, shows that there were 58-59 women as opposed to 207 men. It is interesting to note that all the women, without exception, earned a living by the means of prostitution, and that of the 207, 49 were dependent economically on the prostitutes earnings. A similar sexual imbalance existed in the United States where, at least until 1909, Japanese men greatly out-numbered Japanese women (in 1900 by as much as twenty-four to one). The situation was further aggravated by the fact that they were not permitted to marry caucasian women. As in Australia, this imbalance resulted in repeated acts of inter-racial violence, particularly between Japanese men and the host indigenous male community.

In 1902 the Bulletin expressed the general attitude which existed in Colonial Queensland toward inter-racial sexual relations.

6. H.M. Chester to Colonial Secretary, 28 Nov. 1881, Col/A327/5351.

7. In D.C. Sissons, op.cit., p. 31.

ALBA'S TABLE SHOWING OCCUPATIONS, LOCATIONS AND SEXES OF JAPANESE RESIDING
IN SOUTHERN PORTION OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1901

Location	Sex	Occupation																	Total
		Servant	Agriculture	Cook	Making Bamboo-ware	Carpenter	Fishing	Barreling House	Wood-cutting and Charcoal-burning	Sale of Liquid Refreshments	Sale of Vegetables	Sale of Fish	Sale of Fruit	Laundry	Unemployed	Prostitution	Restaurant cum Brothel	Sanctories Store cum Brothel	Laundry cum Brothel
Perth	m	6	1	20	1											11			39
	w															14			14
Fremantle	m			1			1									1			3
	w															3			3
Albany	m		2													1			3
	w															1			1
Bunbury	m			2															2
	w													32	10	11	3	2	72
Kalgoorlie	m			12		1		1								16			16
	w			5					1					12		9		1	28
Boulder	m															10			10
	w			3						1				4			2	3	13
Coolgardie	m															6			6
	w																		
Geraldton	m		3	1							3	5	1	4					17
	w																		4
Cue	m		1	14										10		5			30
	w															5			5
Total	m	6	7	50*	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	1	62	10	38	5	3*	207*
	w															59*			59*

By hierarchically categorising the morality of these unions, The relations between Asian men and Aborigine women were placed at the bottom of the scale. The article began by asking:

Will the ultimate end of this mixture produce a new race like the lazy, treacherous Guatemalans and Cubans? In and around Cairns, you see every possible combination of half caste - the most evil, that of a Chinaman and black gin. When their son marries the daughter of a Syrian and his Kanaka girl, I don't know what will happen next. Bulletin, 17 Aug. 1901.

Records of 'Marriages with "Aboriginal" Women' in the Somerset District on Thursday Island for the period 1901-1908 give clear indication as to the social and cultural pressure which was placed on retaining the physical features of one's own groups.⁸ The records also indicate that marriages between Japanese and Aborigines were not accepted, confirming the Bulletin's views and ethnocentricity displayed by non-European groups⁹.

8. A detailed analysis of ethnocentrism in plural societies is provided by G. Evans in Thursday Island 1878-1914 - A Plural Society.

9. In G. Evans, op.cit., pp. 50-53.

MARRIAGES WITH "ABORIGINAL" WOMEN IN THE SOMERSET
DISTRICT. 1901 - 1908

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1901	½ caste Abo.		Javanese	Diver's Tender
	Aboriginal		S.S. Islander	"
	"		"	Seaman
	"		"	"
	"		English	"
	"		S.S. Islander	Fisherman
	"		Malay	Boarding-House Keeper
	"		"	Diver
	"		"	Pearl Sheller
1902	Aboriginal		Solomon Is.	Seaman
	"		Loyalty Is.	Fisherman
	½ caste Abo.		Samoan	Sailor
	Aboriginal		Brazilian	Labourer
	"		French	Diver
1903	Assau Warrior Is.	Assau 18 yrs. old; M.&F. at Yam	Simaki Samoa	19 years old son Murray Is. Missionary; resident Straits 10 yrs; pearl sheller

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1903	Pauline. Abo., Mapoon.	Application and recommended by Hey	Henry Lewis S.S. Islander	born in Qld.
	Clara Fabian Torres Islander	mother is from Two Brothers Is.	Juan Santos Guam	
	Agnes Minjoot $\frac{1}{2}$ caste	M. from Coen; F. from India (Said Abdurrahman)	Ibrahim Ben Mahomet India: Calcutta	20 yrs. resident T.I.
	"Minnie" $\frac{1}{2}$ caste	ex-employ. of P.M. Pt. Douglas	"Ponto" Aboriginal	extracker, Yarrabah
	"Kate" Abo.		"Cheery" S.S. Islander	member Qld. Kanaka Mission
	Eleanor Roas $\frac{1}{2}$ caste	only father consents; 15 yrs. old F. = Raymond Roas Filipino, & M = Mary Kass, Torres Is.	Domingo Zeromenes Filipino	"of good char., and many yrs. resident at T.I.
	$\frac{1}{2}$ caste of Mabuiag Is.	M = Kerisi Torres Is.; F = George Anker of Samoa	Ah Mat Pablo Singapore	diver; T.I.; 35 yrs. old
	Rebecca Erub Is.	17 yrs; Gima- Erub. Sela-Lifu (both consent)	Robert Athow S.S.I. (Apl. Is.)	23 yrs. resident Qld.; 37 yrs. old boarding housekeep T.I.
	Sepe Murray Is. Johanna Favian $\frac{1}{2}$ caste	Filipino/Abo. minor	Lucio Rosario Filipino Pelay Filipino	20 yrs. at T.I.; good char. 11 yrs. at T.I., good char.
1904	Margarita Maria Yam Is.		Pirmines Monmarible Filipino	10 yrs. at T.I.; good char

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1904	Wasi Darnley Is.	Widow	Charles Kowat Rotumah	17 yrs. at T. good char.
	Catalina Hoy Yam Is.	Widow	Fidele Rotumah	18 yrs. at Q1
1905	Risil $\frac{1}{2}$ caste	Mabuiag M; F = S.S.I	Billy Rotumah. S.S.I.	T.I.
	Declassie $\frac{1}{2}$ caste		Sevivu Rotumah	T.I.
	Libby Savage $\frac{1}{2}$ caste (Moa Is.)		Charles Corrie Gilbert Is.	Half caste, T.
	Nelly Sykes $\frac{1}{2}$ caste		Samuel Sullivan S.S.I.	T.I.
	Alit. $\frac{1}{2}$ caste; Mabuiag		Jimmy Yevie Tanna Is.	T.I.
	Genua $\frac{1}{2}$ caste	a minor	Charlie Wollie S.S.I.	T.I.
1906	Latta $\frac{1}{2}$ caste	17 yrs. Old	Rotumah	T.I.
	Baill Murray Is.	23 yrs.	S.S.I. (Lifu)	T.I.
	Lavinia (Yam Is.)		Manila	T.I.
	Toom Tierna Mabuiag Is.		Samoan	T.I.
1907	Nay Murray Is.		S.S.I.	recommended Mapoon leper
1908	Maria Abo.		Tom Solomon S.S.I.	recommended by protector T.I.
	Mary Abo. (York Is.)		Charley Daley S.S.I.	" "
	Anne Harnet Abo. (Darnley Is.)		Josiah Sela S.S.I.	" "
	Maria Cooke Abo (Darnley Is.)		Albert Warde S.S.I.	" "

<u>Year</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1908	Essie Abo. (Murray Is.)		Teetou	recommended by Protector T.I.
	Latu Abo. (Yam Is.)		George Kapiere Rotumah	" "
	Lily Abo. (Yam Is.)		John Wesley Samoa	" "

Japanese Tombstones

Weathered by wind and water or even buried under ant hills lie one of the most useful sources for establishing the birthplaces of the Japanese women who ventured into Australia - the inscriptions on the Japanese tombstones in the cemetery on Thursday Island.

In 1986, the project of restoring the cemetery commenced under the late Tomitoara Fujii, a pioneer of the pearlshell fishery, was partially accomplished in 1986; the names of 300 people were collected and 200 tombs rebuilt. Unfortunately, not all the tombstones in the cemetery on Thursday Island provide the birthplaces of the Japanese women who are buried there. However, five of the eleven tombstones which reveal such information indicate Nagasaki-Ken (prefecture) as the place of birth; one was born in Hiroshima, another in Kumanamoto and two others in Saitoma and Wakayama prefectures respectively. Of the five women who died prior to the First World War, four died whilst in their early twenties. The inscriptions on the tombstones of Japanese males reveal some interesting information regarding Japanese migratory patterns during the latter part of the 19th century.¹⁰

10. For a copy of 'List of Inscriptions on all the surviving tombstones on Japanese graves on Thursday Island' refer to Appendices section. I am indebted to Mr. Michael Percy, of the Japanese Consulate General in Brisbane for kindly providing me with a copy of this document compiled by Dr. Mogi in 1986.

Of the 149 tombstones which remain intact, 121 indicate Wakayama Prefecture as the place of birth. Ehime Prefecture appears as the birthplace of 15 men. It is most likely that these were pearldivers, or worked in some aspect of the fisheries.

What the latter figures indicate, particularly for Wakayama prefecture, is the factor of chain migration. More recently, this phenomenon has been found to occur in various southern European communities coming to Australia, such as the Greek and Italian.¹¹ This aspect of Japanese immigration into Australia has not yet been given much attention by academics studying the subject.

11. Lecture attended in 1986 at Macquarie University, on the History of Migration.

CONCLUSION

In the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Japanese secret prostitutes were allowed to enter Australia to serve the very specific needs of the then newly developing capitalist system. The Japanese pearldiver provided a cheap and effective labour force, upon which Queensland came to be highly dependent, and the prostitute the means whereby the latter's sexual needs could be met. The virulent attacks on miscegenation which characterise competitive race relations further sanctioned the introduction of Japanese imbaifu.

Police and immigration officials' compliance and corruption was a critical factor in ensuring that Queensland's immigration policy's hidden agenda was put into effect.

'Competitive' race relations involved the Japanese pearldivers' exploitation of the Aborigine men and women in order to gain a more effective place in the economy.

Japanese brothels which, on the whole, did not operate on an ethno-specific basis, appear to have financially supported the business speculations of Japanese engaged in the pearling industry; a factor which appears to have contributed significantly to the position the latter was able to achieve in the industry's hierarchy,

Although the 1902 Immigration Restriction Act slowed down the direct entry of Japanese prostitutes into Australia, international and

local syndicates continued to operate the effective 'underground' trafficking of Japanese women for a number of years following the introduction of the Act. The participation of 'prominent public men' in this traffic and in the share of the profits is highly likely.

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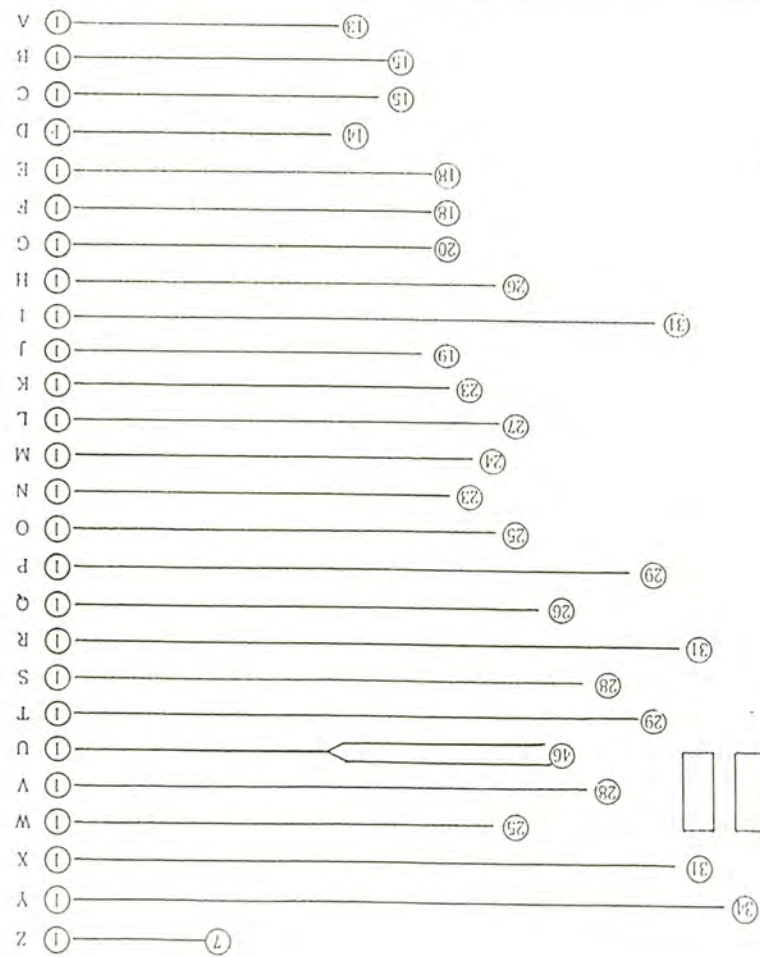
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APPENDIX 1

List of the Deceased Japanese People from the Cemetery on Thursday
Island 1877-1986.



I
J
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P



	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
A-1	TOYOSAKU.YAMAZAKI 山 崎 豊 作	♂		12・5・1900 明治33・5・12	KUMAMOTO 熊 本		AZA-MOHAMA, OOE-MURA, AMAKUSA-GUN, KUMAMOTO-KEN 熊本県天草郡大江村字模浜
A-2							
A-3			387				
A-4	TAMISUKE.WADA 和 田 民 助	♂	386	26・12・1900 明治33・12・26	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO.SHIONOMISAKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬村上野(有志一同)
A-5	YOZOO.HAMANO 濱 野 與 蔵	♂		24・12・1899 明治32・12・24	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 7	AZA-NADATE, HIOKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡日置村字名立
A-6	ICHIMATSU.NISHIYAMA 西 山 市 松	♂		3・1・1900 明治33・1・3	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 3	OOAZA-TANAMI, TANAMI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡田並村大字田並
A-7							
A-8							
A-9							
A-10							
A-11			373				
A-12							
A-13							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
B-1							
B-2							
B-3			382				
B-4			380	20・11・1899 明治32・11・20			
B-5	MASAKICHI.KADOKAWA 角 川 政 吉	♂	379	22・11・1899 明治32・11・22	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO.SHIIONOMISAKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN,WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬村上野（有志者中）
B-6							
B-7	YASUTARO.TAJIMA 田 嶋 安 太 郎	♂	391	9・11・1899 明治32・11・9	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		KUSHIMOTO-MACHI,NISHIMURO-GUN,WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡串本町（東京近衛兵隊・勲八等）
B-8	RIKIKO.KAWAGUCHI 川 口 力 子	♀	374	1.11.1899 明治32・11・1	KUMAMOTO	2 1	NOZOE,SHITEI-MURA,AMAKUSA-GUN,KUMAMOTO-KEN 熊本県天草郡志梯村字野添（川口権六姉）
B-9			369				
B-10			372				
B-11	YOSIMATSU.IWABUCHI 岩 刈 由 松	♂			WAKAYAMA 和歌山		
B-12	GORO.MINAMIMATSU 南 松 五 郎	♂		1・11・1899 明治32・11・1	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 2	MENAMI.KII キイ・メナミ人
B-13			746				
B-14			370				
B-15			364				

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
C-1		♂	310				
C-2			329				
C-3			331				
C-4			379				
C-5			334				
C-6	KOMA.YAMASHITA 山下 コマ	♀		26.5.1898 明治31.5.26	NAGASAKI 長崎	22	OOAZA-OSHIDATE, KAMIKITA-MURA, NISHIURA-GUN, NAGASAKI-KEN 長崎県西浦郡上北村大字推立 (中西芳松 建之)
C-7	TATSUNOSUKE.MASAGO 真砂辰之助	♂	337				
C-8	TOKUBEI.NAWOI 直井徳兵衛	♂	341	1888 明治21.			有志者建之
C-9	HAFU.OLE.MUA IAALA DKOTOP			ON14 E FAO 1898 ON	MAFUA 23	ROTUMH	
C-10			350				
C-11			356				
C-12	SENZOO.OOKAWA 大川専蔵	♂	361				
C-13			395				
C-14			369				
C-15							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
D-1	TSUNETAROO. MINAMI 南 常 太 郎	♂	308	16・11・1898 明治30・11・16	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		SHIONOMISAKI. KII 紀伊・潮岬
D-2			316				
D-3			323				
D-4	KIICHI. SUMI 角 喜 市	♂		3・1899 明治32・3	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	23	KATSUURA. KII キイ・カツウラ人
D-5			320				
D-6			744				
D-7	GENSIROO. INOUE 井 上 源 四 郎	♂	328	29・3・1896 明治29・3・29	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		MIWASAKI. KII 紀伊三輪崎町人(大正2年1月29日 建之)
D-8	KINNOJYOO. ASHARI 浅 利 金 之 丈	♂		16・6・1898 明治31・6・16			TANAMI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡田並村
D-9			338				
D-10			340				
D-11	OTOMATSU. ARASHUNA 荒 砂 音 松	♂		12・1899 明治32・12・	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	23	KATSUURA. KII キイ・カツウラ人
D-12			355				
D-13			359				
D-14			357				

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NEATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
E-1							
E-2	KOOSHICHI. OKAJI 岡 地 幸 七	♂	309	19・10・1897 明治30・10・19	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 5	KUSHIMOTO 串本之人
E-3			311				
E-4			336				
E-5			318				
E-6	CHUUTAROO. YASHUHARA 安 原 忠 太 郎	♂	743	7・12・1904 明治37・12・7	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	5 6	UWANO, SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬上野（有志者建之）
E-7							
E-8	SEIDOO. GIKOO. KOJI 誠道義好 居士	♂		27・1・1898 明治31・1・27	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 6	NISHIZAKI, FUJIBASHI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡藤橋村西崎（鈴木安兵衛建之）
E-9	KUMAKICHI. NISHI 西 熊 吉	♂					
E-10							
E-11	M I N A M I 南		343	10・1897 明 治 30・10・	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		KUSHIMOTO-MACHI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN
E-12							
E-13	HARUMATSU. UNNO 海 野 春 松	♂		11・12・1898 明治31・12・11			
E-14			351				
E-15	YOSHIE. NISHIMURA 西 村 ヨ シ エ	♀	354	16・3・1899 明治32・3・16	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		SHIONOMISAKI-MURA 潮岬村
E-16							
E-17							
E-18							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
F-1	UNOKICH .YOSHIDA 吉 田 宇 之 吉	♂		27・7・1899 明治32・7・27	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		NAKADOMARI, IYO イヨ・中泊
F-2							
F-3							
F-4	TOSHISUKE.CHINO MATSUNOSKE.CHINO 智 野 利 助	♂ ♂	332 332	7・7・1894 10・4・1898 明治27・7・7	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		IZUMO, SHIONOMISAKI-MURA, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県潮岬村出雲
F-5	智 野 松 之 助			明治31・4・10			
F-6			324				
F-7	RITSU .TAGUCHI 田 口 リ ッ	♀		14・2・1888 明治21・2・14	HIROSHIMA 広島	39	HIROSHIMA ,JAPAN.(DIE 14TH FEBRUARY 1898 AGE 39 YEARS)
F-8			608				
F-9			605				
F-10			346				
F-11			602				
F-12							
F-13			399				
F-14			398	27・2・1900 明治33・2・27	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		IZUMO, SHIONOMISAKI-MURA 潮岬村大字出雲
F-15							
F-16							
F-17							
F-18							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE		
G-1							
G-2							
G-3	TETSUNOSKE. HARA 原 鉄 之 助	♂		24・10・1900 明治33・10・24	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 2	KUSHIMOTO. KII JAPAN. 日本 紀伊 串本 (丹心鉄志原道居士)
G-4			611				
G-5			614				
G-6							
G-7			616				
G-8			617				
G-9			619				
G-10							
G-11							
G-12							
G-13			624				
G-14			625				
G-15			626				
G-16			629				
G-17	KYUTAROO. KAWABATA 川 端 久 太 郎	♂		30・6・1900 明治33・6・30	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 1	OOAZA. IZUMO. SHIONOMISAKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬村大字出雲
G-18							
G-19							
G-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
H-1							
H-2							
H-3	KIKUMATSU, SAKATA 坂 田 菊 松	♂		20・9・1901 明治34・9・20	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	27	TANAMI・KII キイ・タナミ人
H-4	HATSUTARO, KOZIMA 小 島 初 太 郎	♂		21・8・1901 明治34・8・21	AICHI 愛 知	29	NAGOYA-SHI AICHI-KEN 愛知県・名古屋市
H-5	YASUTARO, KAJI 加 治 安 太 郎	♂		21・7・1901 明治34・7・21	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	28	TANAMI・KII キイ・タナミ人
H-6	THURUKICHI, KOHIGASHI 小 東 鶴 吉	♂		18・7・1901 明治34・7・18	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	28	TANAMI・KII キイ・タナミ人
H-7							
H-8			635				
H-9							
H-10							
H-11							
H-12	Sagred to Memory -OF-HARRY-KAFOA			November 5 TH 1901		AGE 59YERS	
H-13							
H-14	HAFU・OLE SOSEFU IA・OLE RANI			JANUERI.29 FAU 1902	ROTUMAH		
H-15	BABE MAY SULLIVAN		BORN	28TH・MAY			
H-16			DIE	8 TH FEB・			
H-17							
H-18			657				
H-19							
H-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	
H-21						
H-22			1209			
H-23	ZINICHIRO.YAMAMOTŌ 山 本 甚 一 郎	♂	1415		WAKAYAMA 和歌山	NISHIMURO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁 人 山本 熊 建之
H-24						
H-25						
H-26						

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
I-1	IWAZOO, TSUMOTO 津 本 岩 蔵	♂	664	12.12.1902 明治35.12.12	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	22	TANAMI, KII キイ・タナミ人
I-2							
I-3							
I-4							
I-5							
I-6							
I-7	SADAHARU, OGINO 荻 野 定 治	♂		9.6.1902 明治35.6.9	AICHI 愛 知	29	OKUDA-MURA, CHITA-GUN, AICHI-KEN, JAPAN 大日本 愛知県知多郡奥田村
I-8	SENKICHI, TAKAI 高 井 仙 吉	♂			WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO, SHIONOMISAKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬村上野
I-9	YURI, KASUGA 春 日 妙 り	♀			WAKAYAMA 和歌山		SHIONOMISAKI- WAKAYAMA-KEN JAPAN
I-10							
I-11							
I-12							
I-13							
I-14	AISEA, FONOMO			BORN 30 JANUARY 1876			NATIVE OF ROTUMAH ISLAND
I-15							
I-16							
I-17							
I-18							
I-19							
I-20							

	N A M E		N O.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	A G E	A D D R E S S
I-21			674				
I-22	HISAKICHI.SIBAZAKI 芝 崎 久 吉	♂		31.8.1950 昭和25.8.31	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	51	MIWASAKI-MACHI,SHINGU-SHI. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県新宮市三輪崎町
I-23							
I-24	GOROOZI.KANASHIMA 金 島 五 郎 次	♂					
I-25							
I-26							
I-27							
I-28	SHIROTANI. 城 谷	♂		8.1938 昭和13.8.	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		MIWASAKI-MACHI,SHINGU-SHI. 和歌山県新宮市三輪崎町
I-29	MASAO.MATSUNO 松 野 正 雄	♂		16.6.1938 昭和13.6.16		20	
I-30			1411				
I-31							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
J-1			706				
J-2							
J-3							
J-4			702				
J-5	SATOME, SUZUKI	♀		1.8.1903		25	
J-6	鈴木里女			明治36.8.1			鈴木寅吉 建之
J-7							
J-8							
J-9	SANKICHI, HARA	♂		1897			
J-10	原三吉			明治30.			
J-11	OTOMATSU, HASHIMATSU	♂		1915	WAKAYAMA		MIWASAKI, KII
J-12	橋松音松			大正4.	和歌山	35	紀井・三輪崎町人
J-13	DICK, SICKKAMONIE			DIE JULY			
J-14				2.3 RD 1903			
J-15							
J-16							
J-17							
J-18							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE		
K-1							
K-2	TSUNESHIGE.TOYOMASU 豊 増 常 繁	♂		26・1・1904 明治37・1・26	NAGASAKI 長 崎		OOAZA-YAMADOO, MINAMIARIMA-MURA, MINAMIKIRA-GUN, NAGASAKI-KEN
K-3			729				
K-4							
K-5							
K-6			730				
K-7	OTOHEI.YAMAGUCHI	♂		23・6・1904 明治37・6・23	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	24	SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬
K-8							
K-9			711				
K-10							
K-11							
K-12							
K-13	WILLIE.BAHOO						
K-14							
K-15							
K-16							
K-17							
K-18							
K-19							
K-20							

	N A M E		N O .	D E T E O F D E A T H	N A T I V E P L A C E	A G E	A D D R E S S
K-21							
K-22							
K-23	TAKEO.KUMAMOTO 熊 本 武 男	♂		10・7・1936 昭和11・7・10		28	

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	
L-1	CHYUJI. SHIOZAKI 潮 崎 忠 次	♂		2・2・1905 明治38・2・2	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	27	KUSHIMOTO. KII. JAPAN 日本・紀伊・串本町人。
L-2							
L-3	OMOTO. WATANABE 渡 辺 ヲ モ ト	♀		5・1907 明治40・5		21	
L-4							
L-5	OTOMATSU. OKADA 岡 田 音 松	♂		2・1905 明治38・2		27	TANAMI. KII キイ・タナミ人
L-6							
L-7	KIMURA 木村	♂		11・2・1906 明治39・2・11			
L-8	SAINOSUKE. NODA 野 田 才 之 助					31	
L-9	MASAHEI. WADA 和 田 政 平			21・7・1905 明治38・7・21	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	27	UENO, NISIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN. 和歌山県西牟郡上野。
L-10							
L-11							
L-12	KUMAICHI. AZEJI 畦 地 熊 一	♂					MIE.-KEN 三重県
L-13							
L-14							
L-15	UNOSUKE. OKAMOTO 岡 本 宇 之 助	♂					
L-16	KICHITARO. KOYAMA 小 山 吉 太 郎	♂		7・11・1895 明治28・11・7		26	
L-17							
L-18							
L-19							
L-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
L-21							
L-22							
L-23							
L-24							
L-25							
L-26							
L-27							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	ADDRESS
M-1	A B E 阿 部			11.1905 明治38.11.	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	23	KUSHIMOTO, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡串本
M-2							
M-3	TAKUZO. MURATA 村 田 宅 蔵	♂		18.12.1905 明治38.12.18	KUMAMOTO 熊 本	34	AZA. ONYA, KAWACHI-MURA, HOUTAKU-GUN, KUMAMOTO-KEN 熊本県飽託郡河内村字温屋
M-4	UKICHI. SHIRAHAMA 白 濱 宇 吉	♂		14.12.1906 明治39.2.14	NAGASAKI 長 崎	36	GOTO, MATSUURA-GUN (MINAMI) NAGASAKI-KEN 長崎県南松浦郡五島
M-5							
M-6							
M-7	SEITARO. HAMANO 浜 野 清 太 郎	♂		20.3.1906 明治39.3.20	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	24	OOAZA-NUNOBIKI, KIMIIDERA-MURA, KAISO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡海草郡紀三井寺村大字布引
M-8	UMETARO. TSUZUICHI 辻 内 梅 太 郎	♂		1.10.1906 明治39.10.1	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	25	TNAMI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN, JAPAN 大日本. 和歌山県西牟婁郡田並村人
M-9	YOSHIMATSU. WODA 尾 田 吉 松	♂		18.4.1906 明治39.4.18	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	38	SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡湖岬
M-10							
M-11	SANBEY. KAZI 加 治 三 兵 衛	♂		6.5.1908 明治41.5.6		34	TANAMI. KII キイ・タナミ人
M-12			793				
M-13							
M-14	KYOTARO. ICHINO 市 野 寿 久 太 郎	♂		8.4.1907 明治40.4.8	KUMAMOTO 熊 本	41	AZA. OOHORIKI. TSUDA-MURA. KIKUCI-GUN. KUMAMOTO-KEN 熊本県菊池郡津田村字大堀木
M-15	UNOSUKE. TANUMA 田 沼 宇 之 助	♂		20.8.1907 明治40.8.20		31	TANAMI. KII キイ・タナミ人
M-16							
M-17	YOSIE. DEGUCHIKATA 出 口 方 ヨ シ エ	♀		7.3.1907 明治40.3.7			施主 大江チヨ
M-18	KATSUMA. OKAMOTO 岡 本 勝 馬	♂		7.3.1907 明治40.3.7			施主 大江チヨ
M-19							
M-20	YOSITARO. NAKAMURA 中 村 芳 太 郎	♂		17.8.1907 明治40.8.17			OOAZA-HIME. NISHIMUKI-MURA 西 向 村 大 字 姫

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
M-21							
M-22							
M-23							
M-24	SAM.FRED ROTAMAH			DIE 15 TH MARCH 1906		AGED 60 YEARS	

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	
N-1			806				
N-2			808				
N-3	HANROK . ENOMOTO 榎 本 半 六	♂		25・2・1908 明治41・2・25	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UTAI-MURA, HIGASHIHARAUE-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN, JAPAN 大日本和歌山県東平上郡宇多井村 出身榎本寅松 建立
N-4	Y A M A K A W A 山 川						U G U I . K I I キイ・ウグイ人
N-5	TSUNESABRO. NAKANISHI 中 西 恒 三 郎	♂		10・2・1910 明治43・2・10	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO. SHIONOMISAKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN. 和歌山県西牟婁郡湖岬村上野
N-6	KANICHI. KOZIMA 小 嶋 寛 市	♂		14・2・1910 明治43・2・14	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 2	UENO. SHIONOMISAKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN. 和歌山県西牟婁郡湖岬村上野
N-7			824				
N-8							
N-9			819				
N-10	A Z U M A 東				WAKAYAMA 和歌山		MIWASAKI-MACHI, HIGASHIMURO-GUN 東牟婁郡三輪崎町
N-11							
N-12			816				
N-13	ICHIMATSU. YAMAGUCHI 山 口 市 松	♂			WAKAYAMA 和歌山		SHIONOMISAKI-MURA, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN. 和歌山県西牟婁郡湖岬
N-14							
N-15	SANGORO. ISHIGAKI 石 垣 三 五 郎	♂		27・1・1908 明治41・1・27	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		HIZU. NISHIHATA-MURA, HIGASHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN. 和歌山県東牟婁郡西向村日津
N-16	YASUNOJO. HAMAHATA 浜 畑 安 之 衛	♂		1908 明治41・			
N-17			809				
N-18	K A T S U U R A イヨ・カツウラ人						
N-19	YUKICHI. IKEDA 池 田 勇 吉	♂		1901 明治34・	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 0	NISHIHATA-MURA, HIGASHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡西向村
N-20							

	N A M E		N O .	D E T E O F D E A T H	N A T I V E P L A C E	A G E	A D D R E S S
N-21	SHINNOSUKE. HAMAGUCHI	♂		6・9・1967			浜口次郎衛・上田なつ以 建之
N-22	浜 口 新 之 助			明治42・9・6			
N-23							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
○-1	SOUMATSU, HIRAMATSU 平 松 曹 松	♂		4.1.1910 明治43.1.4	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	28	SHIONOMISAKI. 潮岬
○-2	SANNOSUKE, MARUMOTO	♂		8.4.1909 明治42.4.8	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		U K U I ウク井
○-3							
○-4							
○-5	CHUUI, NAKANO 中 野 仲 次	♂		26.2.1909 明治42.2.26	EHIME 愛媛	32	AZA-KATAKUYA, NISHISOTOUMI-MURA, MINAMIUWA-GUN, EHIME-KEN 愛媛県南宇和郡西外海村字片久家
○-6							
○-7	FUMISUKE, MURAZUME 村 詰 文 助	♂		12.1908 明治41.12	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO, SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬上野
○-8	TOKUTARO, NAOI 直 井 徳 太 郎	♂			WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO, SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬上野
○-9							
○-10							
○-11	KUMAKICHI, HASEGAWA 長 谷 川 熊 吉	♂		1.10.1908 明治41.10.1	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	33	TANAMI, KII キイ・タナミ人
○-12							
○-13	SEIZABURO, TAKEDA 竹 田 靖 三 郎	♂		10.11.1908 明治41.11.10	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	21	UENO, SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬上野
○-14	SENKICHI, AZUMA 東 仙 吉	♂		16.11.1908 明治41.11.16	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UKUI-MURA, TODAI-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東台郡宇久井村
○-15	FUSATARO, YAMAGUCHI 山 口 房 太 郎	♂		1909 明治42.	EHIME 愛媛		NISHISOTOUMI-MURA, MINAMIUWA-GUN, IYO 伊予南宇和郡西外海村
○-16							
○-17	FUMITARO, YAMAZAKI	♂		4.12.1910 明治43.12.4		23	
○-18							
○-19	YOSHIMATSU, KOURA 小 浦 吉 松	♂		8.7.1911 明治44.7.8	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	20	AZA-KOURA, NISHINATA-MURA, HIGASHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡西向村字小浦
○-20	YAJIRO, SHIWOYOSE 潮 寄 弥 次 郎	♂		4.11.1909 明治42.11.4	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	26	UENO, SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬上野

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
○-21	S A D A I C H I . M A E J I 前 地 定 市	♂		28.1.1909 明治42・1・28	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	18	UENO.SHIONOMISAKI.NISHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬村 上野（前地荒太郎・救助会）建之
○-22						24	
○-23							
○-24							
○-25							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
P-1	YOSHIMATSU. KANO 加 納 吉 松	♂	856	2・1926 大正15・2	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		MIWASAKI. ミワサキ人 親和会 建之
P-2	HIKOTARO. DEGUCHI 出 口 彦 太 郎	♂		1910 明治43・	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO. SHIONOMISAKI. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山湖畔 上野
P-3	TOKUMATSU. MAECHI 前 地 徳 松	♂		10・1910 明治43・10	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	20	T A N A M I タ ナ ミ 人
P-4	MASAEMON. WAKIGUCHI 脇 口 政 右 衛 門	♂		4・1909 明治42・4・	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	37	KATHUURA. KII キイ・カツウラ人
P-5							
P-6	FUNAKOSHI 船 越				EHIME 愛 媛		EHIME-KEN 愛媛県
P-7			880				
P-8	TOOKICHI. SHIOSAKI 潮 崎 藤 吉	♂		13・4・1910 明治43・4・13	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	34	UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山 上野
P-9	KIJYURO. YAMAGUCHI 山 口 喜 十 郎	♂		24・2・1910 明治43・2・24	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	31	SHIONOMISAKI. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山湖畔
P-10	YOSHIMATSU. TERAMOTO 寺 本 芳 松	♂		19・2・1910 明治43・2・19	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	33	WAFUKA-MURA. NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡和深村
P-11							
P-12							
P-13	MOMOMATSU. TAKEDA 竹 田 百 松	♂		10・6・1910 明治43・6・10	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	26	TANAMI. KII キイ・タナミ人
P-14	SANKICHI. HIRAMATSU 平 松 三 吉	♂		24・6・1910 明治43・6・24	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	30	UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山 上野
P-15	KUSUMATSU. TSUJI 辻 楠 松	♂		10・9・1910 明治43・9・10	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		救助会 建之 HIKATA-MACHI. KAISO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県海草郡日方町 辻 半七・辻よね 建之
P-16	SHINJIRO. TORISHIMA 鳥 嶋 信 次 郎	♂		14・10・1910 明治43・10・14		25	
P-17	UNOSUKE. NAKAMURA 中 村 宇 之 助	♂		10・11・1910 明治43・11・10	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	20	UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山 上野
P-18							
P-19							
P-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
P-21	SADAJIRO.NAKANO	♂		10.10.1911	WAKAYAMA	28	TANAMI.KII
P-22	中 野 定 治 郎			明治44・10・10	和歌山		キイ・タナミ人
P-23	TOMOKICHI.KAMICHI	♂		18.7.1911	WAKAYAMA	21	NISHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN
P-24	上 地 友 吉			明治44・7・18	和歌山		和歌山県西牟婁郡(救助会)建之
P-24	HEISUKE.OZAKI	♂		2.2.1910	WAKAYAMA	35	MIWA. WAKAYAMA-KEN
P-25	尾 崎 平 助			明治43・2・2	和歌山		和歌山県 三輪
P-25				1.2.1910			
P-26				明治43.2.1			
P-27	MITHUO.OGAWA	♂		16.2.1911	WAKAYAMA	22	UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN
P-28	小 川 三 男			明治44・2・16	和歌山		和歌山県 上野

Q-1	SEIKICHI. TAKEDA 竹 田 清 吉	♂	21.4.1910 明治43.4.21	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 8	UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野 (救助会)
Q-2						
Q-3	OKIYO. HAMADA 浜 田 才 吉	♀	3.1911 明治44.3.	NAGASAKI 長 崎	3 1	UEDAMACHI. NAGASAKI-KEN 長崎県上田町(雲山慈沖信女)堀崎金定 建之
Q-4						
Q-5						
Q-6	TAROICHI. YAKURA 矢 倉 太 郎 市	♂	27.1.1911 明治44.1.27	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 8	KUSHIMOTO-MACHI. NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡串本町(狐堂浄白信士)明治45. 有志建之
Q-7	TOKUMATSU. HAMAHATA 浜 畑 徳 松	♂	2.1921 大正10.2			沙見 敬二郎 建之
Q-8	JINZABURO. MATHUNAMI 松 並 甚 三 郎	♂	6.2.1911 明治44.2.6	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 1	UENO. NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡上野 (救助会) 建之
Q-9	SEIJIRO. ODA 尾 田 政 治 郎	♂	20.1.1911 明治44.1.20	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 0	SHIONOMISAKI. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県潮岬
Q-10	KATSUSABURO. SHIMIZU 清 水 勝 三 郎	♂	1910 明治43.	EHIME 愛 媛		FUNAKOSHI. IYO イヨ・フナコシ WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県
Q-11						UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野
Q-12	HARUROKU. KAMICHI 上 地 治 六	♂	22.1.1911 明治44.1.22	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 8	EHIME-KEN 愛媛県
Q-13	AKAKABE 赤 壁	♂		EHIME 愛 媛		UKUI-MURA. HIGASHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡宇久井村
Q-14	CHOUEMON. MINATOYA 港 谷 長 右 衛 門	♂	19.7.1911 明治44.7.19	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	1 8	
Q-15	OTOJI. HAMA 濱 音 次	♂	19.10.1911 明治44.10.19		2 5	
Q-16						
Q-17						
Q-18	SUEZO. SASAKI 佐 々 木 末 蔵	♂	25.10.1911 明治44.10.25	MIE-KEN 三 重 県	1 8	OAZA-MIURA. SANNOSE. KITANEI-GUN. MIE-KEN 三重県北牟婁郡三野瀬大字三洲
Q-19	MANKICHI. OKAZAKI 岡 崎 萬 吉	♂	12.10.1911 明治44.10.12	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 1	WABUKA-MURA. NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡和深村
Q-20						

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
Q-21							
Q-22	HISAICHI.KIYOYAMA 清 山 久 市	♂			EHIME 愛 媛	1 9	TAIBO.MINAMIUWA-GUN.EHIME-KEN 愛媛県南宇和郡大戊
Q-23	TSUGISUKE.HAYASHI 林 次 助	♂		1・2・1911 明治44・2・1	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野
Q-24	T A R O . O G A M E 大 亀 太 郎	♂		1・1911 明治44・1			
Q-25							
Q-26							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
R-1							
R-2	IWAKICHI, YABU 藪 岩 吉	♂		24.8.1912 大正1.8.24		21	
R-3	MIMATSU, IKEHATA 池 畑 三 松	♂		7.1912 明治45.7.	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		藪 三木郎 建之 TAKAIKE-MACHI, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県
R-4	CHIKAZO, YAMAGUCHI 山 口 近 造	♂		1912 大正1	EHIME 愛 媛		NAKAURA, IYO イヨ・ナカウラ
R-5							
R-6	OTOKICHI, MASUDA 益 田 音 吉	♂		1912 明治45.	EHIME 愛 媛		FUNAKOSHI, IYO イヨ・フナコシ
R-7	TOKUJI, MIYAGAKI 宮 垣 徳 次	♂					
R-8	DAIKICHI, KOBAYASHI 小 林 大 吉	♂		1912 明治45.			
R-9	BUNTARO, HIRAMATSU 平 松 文 太 郎	♂		26.3.1912 明治45.3.26	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	21	UENO, SHIONOMISAKI, NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬上野
R-10	ITSUNOSUKE, UMINO 海 野 光 之 助	♂					
R-11	MAGOSHIRO, FUTAKAWADA 二 河 田 孫 四 郎	♂		1912 明治44.		19	
R-12							
R-13							
R-14							
R-15	KISABURO, TAKAMATSU 高 松 喜 三 郎	♂		5.4.1914 大正3.4.5.	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	21	TANAMI, KII キイ・タナミ人
R-16							
R-17							
R-18							
R-19	KENTARO, MISAWA 三 沢 健 太 郎	♂		28.7.1913 大正2.7.28	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	27	UENO, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野 (救助会) 建之
R-20	KYUUTARO, NODA 野 田 久 太 郎	♂		17.6.1913 大正2.6.17	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	21	UENO, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野 (救助会) 建之

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
R-21	CHOUTARŌ. MAEJI 前 地 長 太 郎	♂	950	1・9・1913 大正1・9・1	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 4	SHIONOMISAKI. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県湖岬
R-22	MASAKICHI. KAJI 加 治 正 吉	♂		15・3・1912 明治45・3・15	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 4	救助会 建之 TANABE-MACHI. NISHIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡田辺町（超道自越倍土）鈴木安兵衛建之
R-23							
R-24							
R-25							
R-26	NOBUMA. NAKAHIRA 中 平 信 馬	♂		1911 明治44・	EHIME 愛媛媛		NAKAMURA. IYO イヨ・ナカムラ
R-27	SENTARŌ. KOSHICHIDA 越 智 田 仙 太 郎	♂		1911 明治44・	EHIME 愛媛媛		FUNAKOSHI. IYO イヨ・フナコシ
R-28	MITSUZO. WADA 和 田 光 三	♂		17・1・1911 明治44・1・17	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	1 9	HISAMI. SHUSAMI-MURA. NISHIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡周参見村日参見
R-29	JISABURŌ. SHIOZAKI 潮 崎 次 三 郎	♂		21・2・1911 明治44・2・21	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 0	UENO. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野
R-30	TARŌ. SATOMASU 里 増 太 郎	♂		27・2・1911 明治44・2・27	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	1 9	救助会 建之 UKUI-MURA. HIGASHIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡宇久井村人
R-31							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
S-1	SHINGO.MAEJIMA 前 島 新 吾	♂	1000	21.NOVEMBER (1916)		2 MONTHS	
S-2							
S-3	EIJIRO.KASUGA 春 日 栄 次 郎	♂		1915 大正3・6・26	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	4 3	SHIONOMISAKI.WAKAYAMA-KEN.JAPAN 和歌山県潮岬 救助会・春日コユキ 建之
S-4							
S-5							
S-6							
S-7							
S-8							
S-9							
S-10	ASAKICHI.SUBANA 須 花 浅 吉	♂		13・12・1928 昭和3・12・13	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 9	MIWASAKI 三輪崎人 岸野純一郎 建之
S-11	QUICHI.TANAKA 田 中 久 一	♂		24・3・1915 大正4・3・24	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野 (田中音松・田中藤太郎)建之
S-12							
S-13	USHIMATSU.KISHINO 岸 野 丑 松	♂		7・1・1914 大正3・1・7	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		MIWASAKI 三輪崎人
S-14	UMEKICHI.SUGIMOTO 杉 本 梅 吉	♂		18・1・1914 大正3・1・18	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		MIWASAKI.HIGASHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡三輪崎町人
S-15							
S-16							
S-17							
S-18	SHOUZABURO.AZUMA 東 庄 三 郎	♂		3・11・1913 大正2・11・3	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 4	UKUI-MACHI.HIGASHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁宇久井町之人
S-19							
S-20	KUMAKICHI.TANIGUCHI 谷 口 熊 吉	♂		11・2・1912 明治45・2・11	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		NISHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
S-21	TETSUKICHI.MATSUBARA 松 原 鉄 吉	♂			WAKAYAMA 和歌山		KUSHIMOTO 串本町人 松原・福松・建之
S-22	TEI.YOSHIDA 吉 田 テ イ	♀		27.3.1911 明治44.3.27	NAGASAKI 長 崎	3 7	KATSUSA-MURA.KORAI-GUN.NAGASAKI-KEN 津守力造
S-23	SAKUMATSU.TAKASE 高 瀬 作 松	♂		4.3.1911 明治44.3.4	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 4	長崎県高来郡加津佐村(貞心自照信女)紀州人尾崎春松建之
S-24	TOKUTARO.KANETA 金 田 徳 太 郎	♂		7.3.1911 明治44.3.7	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 2	UENO.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野 救助会建之
S-25							UENO.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野 救助会建之
S-26	KANJIRO.SHIOZAKI 潮 崎 勘 次 郎	♂		15.2.1911 明治44.2.15	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県 上野
S-27	OTOMATSU.KOBORI 小 堀 音 松	♂		16.6.1911 明治44.6.16	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		有志一同 OOURA.NISHINATA-MURA.HIGASHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN
S-28	KANEYOSHI.HAMADA 濱 田 金 良	♂			EHIME 愛 媛	2 3	和歌山県東牟婁郡西向村大浦 FUNAKOSHI.IYO 伊 預 船 越

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
T-1							
T-2							
T-3	TORAMATSU. IKEDA 池 田 寅 松	♂		13.3.1917 大正6.3.13	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 2	NATA-MURA 志才畔名人(志州名田村人)昭和4年3月11日 名田連中建之
T-4	KIROKU. MAEDA 前 田 喜 六	♂					
T-5	SHIGERU. OOTA 太 田 茂	♂		1.6.1934 昭和9.6.1	WAKAYAMA 和歌山 WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 5	U K U I 宇久井人 MIWASAKI 三輪崎人
T-6							
T-7							
T-8	外 人						
T-9	外 人						
T-10	外 人						
T-11	HIKOICHI. TAKEMURA 竹 村 彦 市	♂		24.1.1916 大正5.1.24	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 6	NATA-MURA 志州名田村人 昭和4年3月11日 名田連中建之
T-12	SENSUKE. UEMURA 上 村 仙 助	♂		24.12.1915 大正4.12.24	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UENO. SHIONOMISAKI. 湖畔上野
T-13							
T-14							
T-15							
T-16							
T-17							
T-18	ISOICHI. TANIGUCHI 谷 口 磯 市	♂		15.6.1913 大正2.6.15	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 5	KUSHIMOTO-MACHI. NISHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡串本町
T-19	RYOICHI. HAMAGUCHI 濱 口 良 一	♂			WAKAYAMA 和歌山		UKUI-MURA. HIGASHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡宇久井村人
T-20							DEWA-SHIMA. MUKI-MURA. KAIBE-GUN 海部郡牟岐村出羽島

	N A M E		N O.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	A G E	A D D R E S S
T-21	SHINNOSUKE.FUJIMOTO 藤 本 新 之 助	♂		4・9・1912 大正元年9・4	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	3 2	OOAZA-IZUMOSAN.SHIONOMISAKIMURA.NISHIMURO-GUN WAKAYAMA 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬村大字出雲産 -KEN
T-22	NORIMATSU.KUSUMOTO 楠 本 徳 松	♂		22・9・1912 大正元年9・22		2 0	
T-23							
T-24							
T-25							
T-26	カトーリック						
T-27							
T-28							
T-29							

	N O.	DETE OF	NATIVE	A G E	A D D R E S S

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
U-1	ICHIRO.TSUMORI 津 守 一 郎	♂		10.10.1918 大正7.10.10	釋 曉夢		
U-2							
U-3	ZENJI.NAGANO 長 野 善 次	♂		4.4.1918 大正7.4.4	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	19	NISHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡
U-4							
U-5							
U-6							
U-7	HIDEHARU.ARISEI 有 請 秀 治	♂		15.11.1933 昭和8.11.15	EHIME 愛媛		UWASHIMA.EHIME-KEN
U-8							
U-9	KINZAEMON.KAMEI 亀 井 金 左 工 門	♂		15.5.1933 昭和8.5.15	WAKAYAMA. 和歌山	42	UGUIMURA. WAKAYAMA-KEN
U-10							
U-11	SHIKA.MINE 峰 シ カ	♀		30.5.1932 昭和7.5.30	NAGASAKI 長 崎	54	NOMOMURA.NAGASAKI.JAPAN ERECTED BY HER DAUGHTER.DAREEN S.MINE
U-12							
U-13				21.3.1931 昭和6.3.21		37	
U-14	HACHIRO.KAMATA 鎌 田 八 郎	♂		12.4.1935 昭和10.4.12	EHIME 愛媛		NAGAMI.YAMA.IYO イヨ・ナガミ山
U-15							
U-16							
U-17							
U-18							
U-19							
U-20							

	N A M E		N O.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	A G E	A D D R E S S
U-21							
U-22							
U-23							
U-24	ASATARO.KANZAKI 神 崎 浅 太 郎	♂		1915 大正4	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 3	MIWA. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県三輪の人
U-25							
U-26							
U-27	YONEKAZU.SAITO 齐 藤 米 一	♂		14.9.1914 大正3.9.14	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 3	HASHIKUI.NISHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡橋杭 齐藤光一 建之
U-28	TSUNEJIRO.YODA 依 田 常 次 郎	♂		17.9.1914 大正3.9.17	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 0	TANAMI タナミ人
U-29	MANZO.OKUMURA 奥 村 満 蔵	♂		29.4.1915 大正4.4.29		2 1	
U-30							
U-31							
U-32							
U-33							
U-34							
U-35							
U-36							
U-37							
U-38	TAKEO.KUMAMOTO 熊 本 武 男	♂		10.7.1936 昭和11.7.10		2 8	
U-39	MASAO.MATSUNO 松 野 正 雄	♂					
U-40							

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
U-41							
U-42							
U-43							
U-44	TOSHIKUZU. FUJII	♂		3.4.1940 昭和15.4.3	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	63	ARITA-MURA. NISHIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡有田村
U-45	JOSEPHINE. FUJII	♀		15.7.1979 昭和54.7.15			
U-46	TOMITARO. FUJII 藤井富太郎	♂		11.12.1986 昭和61.12.11	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	79	ARITA-MURA. NISHIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡有田村
	TOSHIKUZU. FUJII DIED. 3RD APRIL 1940						
	TRE SURED MEMOGSES OF OUR DEAR WIFE MOTH ER JOSEPHINE FUJII PASSED AWAY 15.7.79 ADGE. 63						
	LOVING MEMORIES KEEP YOU NEAR ERECTED BY HER LOVING HUSBAND. FAMILY						
	TOMITARO. FUJII 藤井富太郎 11.1986						

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
V-1							
V-2							
V-3	ICHIMATSU.FUKUSHIMA 福 島 市 松	♂		30.4.1919 大正8.4.30	EHIME 愛 媛		I Y O イ ヨ
V-4							
V-5	OTOMATSU.KYUHARA 久 原 音 松	♂		5.1.1923 大正12.1.5	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	2 1	三輪崎同心会 建之
V-6	DENKICHI.OKACHI 岡 地 伝 吉	♂		21.6.1923 大正12.6.21		5 7	長田ヨネ 建之
V-7							
V-8							
V-9	YASUTARO.TANAKA 田 中 安 太 郎	♂		14.2.1876 明治9.2.14	SAITAMA 埼 玉	7 8	KOONOSU-MACHI.KITAADACHI-GUN,SAITAMA-KEN
V-10	SAWO.TANAKA 田 中 サ ヲ	♀		9.1.1971 昭和46.1.9	SAITAMA 埼 玉	7 7	埼玉県北足立郡鴻ノ巣町出身 昭和10.2.14 建之 田中サヲ (覚道浄守居士) 田中キヨ
V-11							
V-12							
V-13							
V-14							
V-15	TAICHI.TAKIMOTO 滝 本 太 一	♂		26.9.1929 昭和4.9.26		2 5	滝本全治 建之
V-16	TSUNEKICHI.YOSHIDA 吉 田 常 吉	♂		2.7.1972 昭和47.7.2	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	6 7	OOSHIMA-MURA.HIGASHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN
V-17	KENTARO.HAGINAKA 萩中謙太郎	♂		1.7.1929 昭和4.7.1	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		和歌山県東牟婁郡大島村 吉田音松 建之 SHIONOMISAKI-MURA .WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県潮岬村
V-18							
V-19	ASAKICHI.ITO 伊 藤 朝 吉	♂		12.12.1928 昭和3.12.12	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		三輪崎人 床山 常吉 建之
V-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
V-21							
V-22							
V-23							
V-24							
V-25							
V-26							
V-27							
V-28							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
W-1							
W-2	ICHITARŌ.ŌOE	♂		8.2.1919		48	
W-3	大 江 市 太 郎			大正8.2.8			妻 チヨ 建之 (大正12.6) 大洋匠海善士
W-4							
W-5							
W-6							
W-7							
W-8							
W-9							
W-10							
W-11							
W-12							
W-13	TOMEKICHI.HARIMURA	♂		5.6.1927	WAKAYAMA		
W-14	梁 村 留 吉			昭和 2.6.5	和歌山		UENO.SHIONOMISAKI-MURA.NISHIMURO-GUN.WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県西牟婁郡潮岬村 上野
W-15	SUI.YOSHIDA	♀		6.1927	NAGASAKI	49	
W-16	吉 田 ス イ			昭和 2.6	長 崎		UNOI.AINO-MURA.MINAMITAKAGI-GUN.NAGASAKI-KEN 知人 建之・長崎県南高来郡愛野村宇野井
W-17							
W-18							
W-19							
W-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
W-21							
W-22							
W-23							
W-24							
W-25							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	A G E	A D D R E S S
X-1							
X-2	SEIICHI. IZUMI 泉 清 市	♂		11.2.1920 大正9.2.11	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	27	UKUI-MURA., HIGASHIMURO-GUN, WAKAYAMA-KEN
X-3	UICHI. MURAMATSU 村 松 卯 市	♂		12.14.1920 大正9.4.12	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		和歌山県東牟婁郡宇久井村
X-4	ETSUJIRO. YAMAOKA 山 岡 悦 次 郎	♂		6.5.1914 大正3.5.6			UENO. SHIONOMISAKI-MURA 湖岬村 上野
X-5							禅海菰悦信士 茂林童子
X-6							
X-7							
X-8	MUNEICHIRO. ODA 小 田 宗 一 郎	♂		30.4.1923 大正12.4.30	NAGASAKI 長崎県	35	TSUYOSHI. SHISHIKI-MURA. KITAMATSUURA-GUN. NAGASAKI-KEN
X-9							長崎県北松浦郡志々木村津吉・昭和4.3.31・名田連中・
X-10							浦 清九郎建之
X-11							
X-12							
X-13							
X-14							
X-15							
X-16							
X-17							
X-18							
X-19							
X-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DETE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
X-21							
X-22							
X-23							
X-24							
X-25							
X-26							
X-27							
X-28							
X-29							
X-30							
X-31							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
Y-1	KOUJI. KIYAMA	♂			WAKAYAMA		UENO. SHIONOMISAKI-MURA. WAKAYAMA-KEN
Y-2	木 山 耕 次				和歌山		和歌山県潮岬村上野
Y-3	KODOMARI. MABE OF	♂		23.12.1922		52	
Y-4	SUKEJIRO. KISHICU			大正11.12.23			
Y-5							
Y-6							
Y-7							
Y-8							
Y-9							
Y-10							
Y-11							
Y-12							
Y-13							
Y-14							
Y-15							
Y-16							
Y-17							
Y-18							
Y-19							
Y-20							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
Y-21							
Y-22							
Y-23							
Y-24							
Y-25							
Y-26							
Y-27							
Y-28							
Y-29							
Y-30							
Y-31							
Y-32							
Y-33	TATSUJI. WATANABE 渡 辺 辰 治	♂		7.8.1925 大正14.8.7	EHIME 愛 媛		イヨ・下ヒサゲ
Y-34							

	N A M E		NO.	DATE OF DEATH	NATIVE PLACE	AGE	A D D R E S S
Z-1							
Z-2				4.1920 大正9.4	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		HIGASIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡
Z-3							
Z-4	KANZABURŌ. NAGANO 長野勘三郎	♂		26.8.1937 昭和12.8.26	WAKAYAMA 和歌山		SUSAMI. NISHIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 谷口信一
Z-5	RYOZABURŌ MUKAI 向井良三郎	♂		31.8.1937 昭和12.8.31	WAKAYAMA 和歌山	58	和歌山県西牟婁郡周参見町人・嶋田健吾・長野駒吉 } 建之 DAICHI-MACHI. HIGASHIMURO-GUN. WAKAYAMA-KEN 和歌山県東牟婁郡太地町 妻この 建之
Z-6							
Z-7							

APPENDIX 2 PHOTOGRAPHS

Acknowledement is made to the Mitchell Library for their kind permission to use these photographs.

1. Japanese women in Kalgoorlie. Western Australia.
2. American poster for 1937 Australian film, originally entitled 'Lovers and Luggers', featuring a Chinese actor publicised as 'Australia's Charlie Chan'.
3. Coach leaving Koolgardie, probably around the turn of the century.
4. Coolgardie, 1927. The Afghan influence in town.
5. Coolgardie. Mining.
6. Municipal Chambers and Anglican Church, Kalgoorlie.
7. Hanna Street, looking East. Kalgoorlie.
8. Japanese diver.





ASTOR
PRODUCTIONS, INC. presents

VENGEANCE OF THE DEER

WITH LLOYD
HUGHES

Shirley Ann
RICHARDS

Produced and
Directed by
KEN G. HALL





COACH LEAVING STATION, 1904. PHOTOGRAPH BY J. H. B. 29



BUXLEY ST COOLCARDIE 27



CONDENSED

COOLGARDIE

26



MUNICIPAL CHAMBERS & ANGLICAN CHURCH, MALCOOBELLE



HANNANS STREET, LOOKING EAST, KALGOORLIE
(SERIES 6)

